
A SEARCH FOR ORIGINS

Proper Names in The Story of Kullervo

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>In this thesis, I examine the proper names found in J.R.R. Tolkien's adaptation <i>The Story of Kullervo</i> and their relation to the source text, the Kullervo cycle found in the Finnish epic <i>Kalevala</i>. The main purpose of this study is to provide more insight into Tolkien's early language creation and to determine the role Finnish and the <i>Kalevala</i> had in it. <i>The Story of Kullervo</i> is an informative source on the subject, since it is Tolkien's first work of mythic prose and filled with invented proper names. In more detail, the aim is to determine how Tolkien's version of the Kullervo cycle differs from the original regarding its proper names, where Tolkien drew inspiration for the new or alternative names he created, and whether any of these proper names are connected to Tolkien's earliest Elvish language, Qenya.</p> <p>With its many changes to the plot, structure and nomenclature, <i>The Story of Kullervo</i> is no ordinary translation. The theoretical framework of this study is founded on the role proper names play in a narrative – the different functions proper names contain within themselves and with respect to the context their used in and the strategies established in the translation field for conveying their semantic content. I consider <i>The Story of Kullervo</i> to be an adaptation and keep this in mind throughout the thesis, touching on topics of adaptation studies and its relation to translation studies. I conduct my research through document analysis, the primary sources being the Finnish <i>Kalevala</i> and <i>The Story of Kullervo</i> from which I collect all proper names and epithets to be used as data. In addition, I try to determine whether the choices Tolkien made when constructing his nomenclature were affected by other works, such as W.F. Kirby's English translation of the <i>Kalevala</i> and C.N.E. Eliot's Finnish grammar, which Tolkien used when studying the language.</p> <p>Tolkien transferred some of the original names into <i>The Story of Kullervo</i> unchanged, although most of them he either modified in some way or replaced completely with inventions of his own. He also created several bynames for many of the referents. A little over half of these invented proper names can be connected to either Finnish or the <i>Kalevala</i>, whereas a little less than half are connected to the early version of Qenya. This division is not mutually exclusive, and some of the names contain both Finnish and Qenya elements. It is difficult to determine which came first, however: the proper names in <i>The Story of Kullervo</i> or their Qenya counterparts, or if the construction was somewhat simultaneous. The impact other literary works and mythologies had on his work is less notable, yet there are instances of this as well. Less than 1/5 of all proper names couldn't be connected to any of the above-mentioned sources.</p> <p>Signs of Tolkien's early language creation can certainly be seen in the nomenclature of <i>The Story of Kullervo</i>. His motivation for writing the short story was to bring out the beauty and magic of the <i>Kalevala</i>, a task in which he thought W.F. Kirby had failed. This is probably one of the reasons why Tolkien wanted to add some of his own distinctive features to the story and why he didn't pay much attention to conventional translation practices.</p>			
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1 Introduction

J.R.R. Tolkien's fictional canon is a significant piece of fantasy literature in today's world. He created a world with not only a detailed history built on its own mythology, but also coherent language families based on strict philological rules. The invention of languages was a passion for Tolkien and some of the earliest signs of language creation can be seen in his short story *The Story of Kullervo*, where he replaced the original Finnish nomenclature almost entirely with names of his own devising.

Tolkien was fascinated by European folklores and mythologies of other nations, and among them was the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. The *Kalevala* has been translated into English multiple times, but Tolkien became acquainted with it through W.F. Kirby's translation *Kalevala, The Land of Heroes*, published in 1907. From all the heroes of the Finnish epic, it was Kullervo who seemed to appeal to him the most. Written in his early 20's, *The Story of Kullervo* ended up as the predecessor of Tolkien's entire fictional canon. It was his first attempt at writing tragedy, his first short story, and his first work of mythic prose. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: ix.) As Tolkien discovered the *Kalevala* at a time when his legendarium was only beginning to form, it is an important source of information when examining the origins of his mythology and language creation.

In this thesis, I am going to examine Tolkien's short story, *The Story of Kullervo*, as an adaptation of the Kullervo cycle found in the Finnish *Kalevala*. While translating the Kullervo cycle, Tolkien made quite a few changes to the narrative structure, style and contents of the story. In this thesis, however, I will focus on the adaptations Tolkien made in his version of the story concerning proper names: the new, or alternative, names Tolkien invented for the *Kalevala*'s characters, animals and other elements. The objective of this study is to provide more insight into Tolkien's early stages of language creation and to determine the *Kalevala*'s role in it. The goal is to answer the following questions:

1. How does Tolkien's version of the Kullervo cycle differ from the original regarding its proper names?

2. Where did Tolkien draw inspiration for the new or alternative names he created?
3. How are the proper names in *The Story of Kullervo* connected to Tolkien's Elvish language Qenya?

Tolkien's language invention was certainly influenced by many other, mainly European, languages, such as German, Finnish, Danish, Old Norse, Old English, Old Icelandic, the Slavic languages, Latin, Greek, Italian, Welsh, Gothic and Old Irish (West 2004: 286–287). These languages, among others, shaped the phonological system and structure of Tolkien's created languages. It is occasionally rather difficult, however, to determine where the line is drawn between an original invention and a borrowed linguistic element in Tolkien's works. In this thesis, I focus on morphemes and words because with smaller units, such as phonemes, the influence of other languages would be next to impossible to determine reliably.

Among past studies, there is general consensus that the *Kalevala* had quite a significant role in shaping Tolkien's imagination. Previous research on the subject can roughly be divided into two topics: language and content. The former focuses on the effect Finnish had on the languages Tolkien invented – especially on the earliest Elvish language, Qenya (Higgins 2015; DuBois and Mellor 2002). Studies belonging to the latter category, on the other hand, focus on the *Kalevala*'s role in shaping Tolkien's imagination and the mythology he later created. Quite often this involves comparisons between the characters and events of the *Kalevala* and those in Tolkien's own works (Ranki 2008; Himes 2000; Garth 2014; Bardowell 2009; West 2004). There are also studies focusing on the effect the *Kalevala* had on Tolkien's mindset and the underlying ethics of his future works (Bardowell 2009, Petty 2004). These topics aren't mutually exclusive, however, and many of the studies mentioned above discuss both topics.

In the following chapter, I will examine previous research in order to create a context for the thesis. In Chapter 3, I will go over the theoretical framework relevant to this study and in Chapter 4, I will introduce the materials and methods. In Chapter 5, I will analyse the data and in Chapter 6 provide conclusions.

2 Previous research

The connection between Tolkien's works and the *Kalevala* has been considered general knowledge for quite a while, although it is a fairly new topic in the sphere of research. The same is true for his early language creation – even though many studies have been published on Tolkien's invented languages in general, his early language invention seems to be quite a neglected area of research. The first comprehensive studies on the effects of the *Kalevala* have emerged in the 21st century, and before that the *Kalevala* was mentioned in passing at best (Himes 2000: 71). In this chapter, I will introduce the main findings relevant for this study.

First of all, it should be remarked that Tolkien himself wrote essays and letters analysing the Kullervo cycle and the influence the *Kalevala* had on his work. These essays and letters, which will be introduced in more detail in Chapter 4, form the basis for many of the studies done on the subject. Secondly, *The Story of Kullervo* wasn't available for researchers until 2010. Studies done before that are based on secondary sources and Tolkien's own writings on the topic, and therefore lack vital evidence.

Tolkien didn't view his writing process as simply an act of translation (Tolkien and Carpenter 2000: 214, hereafter *Letters*) and there is no clear consensus as to whether *The Story of Kullervo* is an adaptation, a translation or merely inspired by the *Kalevala*. Tolkien talks about his fascination with the *Kalevala* in his letters but doesn't find it useful to compare the characters and events of his own world with those of the *Kalevala* or other possible sources (ibid., 150). This approach to originality has led to a discussion of plagiarism and the influence other literary works have had on Tolkien's legendarium. Túrin Turambar is one of the most discussed characters of Tolkien's Middle-earth in this regard, since his life and personality reflects that of Kullervo quite closely (Ranki 2008; Garth 2014). Tolkien occasionally talked about using the Kullervo cycle as inspiration, writing "It remains a major matter in the legends of the First Age (which I hope to publish as *The Silmarillion*), though as 'The Children of Húrin' it is entirely changed except in the tragic ending." (ibid., 345).

Detailed research on *The Story of Kullervo* is quite scarce and in addition to Verlyn Flieger, the editor of *The Story of Kullervo*, Andrew Higgins is one of the only researchers who has analysed the nomenclature of *The Story of Kullervo* in depth. Higgins argues in his PhD thesis, *The Genesis of J.R.R. Tolkien's Mythology*, that the *Kalevala* had a significant role in the early formation of Tolkien's mythology, and its discovery led Tolkien to begin many creative projects (Higgins 2015: 69). Higgins emphasises the influence Finnish and the *Kalevala* had on Tolkien's first Elvish language Quenya, saying that much of the nomenclature in *The Story of Kullervo* can be found in the language later on (ibid. 76). I will be using the categorisation system Higgins introduced in classifying Tolkien's nomenclature, although with slightly modified groupings. I will introduce the categorisation system in more detail in Chapter 5.

As I mentioned briefly in the first chapter, research on the influence the *Kalevala* and Finnish had on Tolkien can usually be divided into two topics: content analysis and linguistics. Studies done on the first topic deal with similarities in characters and events between the *Kalevala* and Tolkien's works, the main subject of study being *The Silmarillion*, a collection of mythopoeic stories. As mentioned above, one of the most notable characters in this regard is Túrin Turambar, a tragic hero whose turning points in life are very similar to those of Kullervo (Higgins 2015; Ranki 2008). There are many more connections to be made, however, such as between the magical artefact Sampo and the Silmarils in Tolkien's invented mythology (Shippey 2003; Himes 2000), between Kullervo's dog Musti and Huan, the Hound of Valinor (Higgins 2015), between the singing match of Väinämöinen and Joukahainen in the *Kalevala* and that of Sauron and Felagund (West 2004, Kocher 1980) and the power of singing and words in general among others. Even though Tolkien wasn't too keen on people trying to determine the detailed origins of his characters and languages, he did openly talk about Finnish and the *Kalevala* being "the original germ of the *Silmarillion*" (*Letters*, 87).

Studies focusing on linguistic similarities between Finnish and Tolkien's invented languages are scarcer. They are, however, quite unanimous in that Finnish had a significant influence on Tolkien's High-elven, Quenya. In the world of *The Lord of the Rings*, it was an 'Elven-latin' of sorts – a language not spoken at home but in

ceremonies and other significant events (Tolkien 2007: 1,128). Tolkien himself wrote, presumably on the influence Finnish had on Qenya among others: “I gave up the attempt to invent an ‘unrecorded’ Germanic language, and ‘my own language’ – or series of invented languages – became heavily Finnicized in phonetic pattern and structure” (*Letters*, 214). There are two distinct spellings used of the language: Qenya and Quenya. The former was the original name Tolkien used of it, but after series of changes to its structure and grammar the new, refined Quenya was born. Often scholars in the field use these terms to differentiate between the old and the new versions of the language. I will examine Tolkien’s early language creation, when Quenya was not yet in existence, and will thus only analyse the nomenclature of *The Story of Kullervo* in relation to Qenya.

Qenya is built on root words, to which various affixes are added to form or change the meaning of the word. *Leminkainen*, for example, comes from the base root LEH-, and it signifies the number 23 (Tolkien 1998: 52). Tolkien was around 23 years old when constructing a Qenya lexicon, introduced in more detail in Chapter 4, and the word *leminkainen* closely resembles one of the *Kalevala*’s heroes, Lemminkäinen. Finnish is also a very agglutinative language with complex noun declensions, which Tolkien seems to have incorporated into Qenya (Higgins 2015: 79). Tolkien also modelled the phonology of Qenya intentionally on Finnish, with both languages having open vowels and softening consonant stops (*ibid.*, 84).

There is a general consensus among past studies that the *Kalevala* affected not only the content of Tolkien’s works but also his style of writing and the purpose of it. Anne C. Petty suggests (2004: 69, 71) that Tolkien aspired to create a literary heritage for his nation, much like Lönnrot had done for Finland. He took on a role, similar to that of Lönnrot, as a mediator – gathering ancient knowledge and reshaping it for future generations.

3 Theoretical Framework

The main objective of onomastics, the study of proper names, can be roughly divided into three parts: tracing the origin and meaning of a given name; conducting a typological analysis, i.e. examining the phonological, morphological, syntactical and semantical structures; and determining naming systems (Koski 1977: 218). The objectives of this study are similar to the categorisation above, since the first and foremost aim is to uncover the origins of the proper names used in *The Story of Kullervo* mainly by examining their structural features. I will also try to determine whether there are functional or structural connections between the proper names Tolkien constructed and if so, whether those name formation models can be seen as forming a pattern, a naming system.

In the following subchapter, I will first define a proper name and discuss its function in literature. I will then give an overview of how those functions are usually transferred into the target text using different translational strategies. In Subchapter 3.3, I will examine the relation between a translation and an adaptation.

3.1 Definition and function of proper names

An undisputed definition of a proper name doesn't exist, but in essence, it is an extralinguistic, specific noun or a noun phrase that denotes a unique object – a person, animal, place or thing (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2003: 125). Proper names often carry denotations and connotations in the source culture, although their meaning might have been lost or become obscured over the years. They do not necessarily differ from common nouns regarding logical content, but their use as labels differentiates them from other phrasal expressions (Vermes 2003: 92—93.).

Sometimes the distinction between a proper name and a common name can be unclear. This might be the case when proper names are used as modifiers, for example, as in the term *Stockholm syndrome*, where the word *Stockholm* isn't used to denote the capital of Sweden. In the presented context, *Stockholm* wouldn't be counted as a proper name, since proper names are defined as having a specific, extralinguistic referent. (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012: 15.) The most important function of a proper name, therefore, is to identify a single, unique object.

Creating additional names for objects is a common phenomenon. There are various terms used of an additional name, such as *byname*, *alternative name* and *secondary name*, as well as their subordinate terms *nickname*, *pet name*, *title*, *short form* etc. In this thesis, I will use the terms *additional name* and *byname* interchangeably as synonyms.

Often a byname might merely be a shortened or modified version of the original proper name, such as *Kuli* for *Kullervo* (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 13), but other times it might be a completely original invention. In the latter instance, the byname might have been constructed to denote a specific feature or characteristic of the referent, and thus be strongly connotative. Bynames can also reveal information about the name user: how they perceive the referent and what type of a relationship they have with it. Bynames are often tied to certain social situations, certain people or times, and a person can have multiple bynames throughout their lives (Bertills 2003: 34–35). Some additional names might only be used of the referent for a few hours, while others might last beyond their lifetime.

In literature, the relation between an official name and a byname is somewhat different compared to the real world, since they have both been constructed to perform a specific function. In literary works, bynames can, however, also be used to emphasise a certain feature of the referent, to give information about the relationship between the name user and the name bearer or simply to give the reader a different perspective of the referent.

Although a proper name can contain a lexical meaning, e.g. the female name *Grace*, which can be used as a common name as well, it doesn't always tell us anything about the referent; Grace might not be a graceful person. A proper name can, however, give us hints about a person's age, sex or sociocultural status among other things. The users of proper names often attach specific connotations or emotions to a name since for them, a name has a strong connection to an extralinguistic entity. (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012: 17.) Someone might have negative connotations of the proper name *Grace*, if they have had a bad encounter with a person of that name. If Grace was a well-known person, a larger group of people might collectively associate the name with a certain emotion or feature. Proper names can, therefore, be seen to contain three types of meaning: identification of a

specific referent, possible lexical meaning and associative content (Bertills 2003: 28).

In addition to identifying referents both in the real world and in a fictional setting, proper names do have other functions as well. In literature, the proper names of different entities have usually been carefully selected or constructed, and they often give the reader information on those entities and add to the context of the story. The names might, for example, provide information about the social class or other features of a character or provide clues about their eventual fate. Proper names can also be phonetically motivated, e.g. to emphasise the relationship between two referents, or they can add intertextuality to the story by creating a connection to an entity in a different literary work. (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012: 258–259.)

There are multiple ways to classify the functions of proper names in fiction, and I will examine these using the categorisation system introduced by Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom (2012: 260–261). They define 11 main functions, with the first one being the *identifying function*, which we have already discussed in previous paragraphs. The second type is the *fictionalising function*, where the proper name helps to emphasise the fictional quality of its referent and the world they inhabit. In these instances, it is easy for the reader to notice that the proper names used aren't something that appear in the real world. Many of the proper names in Tolkien's *The Story of Kullervo* can be seen as belonging to this category, e.g. the main character's alternative name, *Honto Taltewenlen*.

Sometimes proper names help the reader connect the referent to its sociocultural surroundings. These are called the *localising* and *social functions*, where the proper names relate information concerning the time period or geographical location of the story, or the referent's social class, identity or role in the community. A similar function is the *descriptive function*, where the reader is given additional information about the referent itself: personality traits, physical or mental features etc. In the real world, the descriptive features of a proper name wouldn't necessarily give us information about the referent, especially if the proper name denotes a living entity (see *Grace* above). In a fictional setting, however, where everything is controlled by the author and others involved, these types of names can be used to describe their bearers.

Other times proper names can be used to paint a bigger picture for the reader by providing information about the social system and cultural background of the fictional world, for example. If a proper name has an *ideological function*, it will give the reader an idea of the ideologies of the referent or the ideological message of the literary work in general. Proper names can also be used to emphasise an emotional atmosphere or an emotive state of a certain referent or the world they belong to, in which case they can be classified as having an *affective function*.

An author can add intertextual connections between different entities, either within a particular work or in relation to other fictional or non-fictional entities through the usage of somewhat similar proper names. This is often used to intertwine the story with existing ones and to thus add a sense of connectedness and depth to the story. Proper names with an *associative function* can add background information about the relation of characters and other entities within a literary work or suggest some type of likeness between them and other entities outside the literary work in question. The name *Kullervo Kalervon poika* (eng, Kullervo Son of Kalervo) gives us information about a family connection between Kullervo and Kalervo, and thus contains an associative function.

Proper names in literature can also be used to divide referents into different subgroups by constructing names with similar structural, contextual or semantical features. These types of proper names have a *classifying function*, and they can relate information about a referent belonging to a specific family, occupational group or a hierarchical level among others. Proper names can also play an important role in the narrative structure of a story, thus having a *narrative function*. Last but not least, an author can add comical elements to the story and entertain readers by simply playing with the names and adding a *humorous function* to them.

A proper name can, of course, belong to more than one of these groups, or have an additional function not mentioned in this chapter. Some names in fiction are also more transparent than others regarding their semantic content, which often correlates with what types of meaning or connotation a reader will apply to them (Bertills 2003: 172). If, for instance, a character's name is quite an ordinary one found in the real world as well, the reader will more freely attach connotations to it that are rooted in his own experiences and presumptions of the bearers of said proper name. If, on the

other hand, the author uses a proper name more transparent in its lexical meaning, say *Bear*, the reader will automatically attach certain characteristics to it. In this case, the reader might assume the referent to be a tough, powerful character.

3.2 Translating proper names

Intercultural situations may cause difficulties when translating proper names, since the source context is not always available in the target culture – especially if there are significant cultural differences between the two language groups. This is a significant factor in translating literature, since authors do often relate a multitude of information through cultural and contextual aspects, even if the reader isn't conscious of it.

In the past, proper names were often automatically transferred from one language to another and as such, considered mere labels without any essential semantic content (Vermees 2003: 89). Their significance, therefore, lied in their identifying function. Translating proper names is not a trivial matter, however, since they often carry meaning in their cultural settings. Nowadays, translation of proper names is a well-established research topic with many scholars having examined different operations and conventions when it comes to translating proper names (Vermees 2003; Bredart, Brennen and Valentine 1996; Lungu-Badea 2013; Newmark 1988). The difficulties in translating proper names stem from the philosophy of language – there is no universal agreement on whether proper names contain semantic content or not. The existing theories on the subject, therefore, lack consistency. This poses a challenge for translators, since they must decide, whether a proper name is a mere label or whether it contains essential information about the denoted referent. (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2003: 123, 125.)

There are quite many translation procedures for translating proper names, such as *transference*, *naturalisation*, *substitution*, *translation* and *modification*. *Transference* is the most popular translation operation, where the proper names are considered to have semantic value in the source language and are incorporated into the translation unchanged. This renders the translation closer to the source text, while preserving the original culture. If a story takes place in Finland, for example, it would only be natural for the names to be Finnish as well. On the other hand, when a transferred

proper name contains semantic information, it may be lost to the target audience. (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2003: 126.) *Naturalisation* is similar to transference with the exception that the proper name is adapted to the pronunciation and morphology conventions of the target language (Newmark 1988: 82).

Substitution is a method used when the proper name has a conventional equivalent in the target language. According to Vermes (2003: 93—94), this is the natural and preferable method of translation if such an equivalent exists. Most substituted proper names are geographical names, which the translator is almost obliged to substitute for the equivalent target language name. *Translation* is another procedure, and its main idea is that the translator should render the meaning of a proper name as the author had intended to the target audience. The translator should, therefore, use expressions with similar semantic connotations and implications as the original proper name has in its source context. In *The Story of Kullervo*, Tolkien uses the proper names *Musti* and *Mauri* when talking about Kullervo's dog, Musti. If the name was to be translated into English, the substitute term could be *Blackie*, for example, since Musti is derived from the Finnish word *musta*, meaning 'black'.

When using *modification* as the chosen translation strategy, the translator chooses an unrelated or partially related term with altered analytic implications and form compared to the original. It can be considered as an umbrella term for various procedures, such as omission, addition and generalisation. It may be used, when the proper name has essential semantic value in the source culture but does not have the same effect in the target culture. Modified proper names can be used to denote similar social statuses, for example. (Vermes 2003: 94.) They can often be close to common nouns, since they are descriptive in nature (Lungu-Badea 2013: 446).

According to Vermes (2003: 94), translators should choose a translation operation which requires the least processing effort from the reader. The proper names should, however, also offer readers sufficient contextual information, taking into consideration the assumed cultural knowledge of the target audience. The relationship between the author, the translator and the target audience should, therefore, be as similar to the relationship between the author and the source audience as possible – keeping in mind the linguistic and cultural realities (Lungu-Badea 2013: 453). There are numerous variables, however, such as the translator's

language proficiency and knowledge of both the source and target cultures, their subjective views on the significance of different features and functions of a proper name as well as potential demands of publishing houses and other parties involved.

When deciding on what type of a proper name should be used of its referent, the translator should consider grammatical, stylistic, semantic and pragmatic aspects as well. The first two have to do with preservation of the form and style of a proper name, and the latter two with the transference of the proper name's function and meaning into the target culture. (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012: 262.) The significance of each of these aspects varies from name to name, and the responsibility of choosing the most suitable approach remains on the translator.

It is quite safe to assume that Tolkien didn't pay much attention to translation theory when writing his version of the Kullervo cycle. It is possible that if published on his own accord as a translation, Tolkien's work might have been considered an act of 'creative treason' in the translation field, with its many alterations to the plot, nomenclature and structure. The short story's status as an adaptation makes it more difficult to apply the above-mentioned strategies to the creation of his nomenclature, although they might help in determining semantic connections between certain proper names and their origins and in discovering possible patterns behind the construction of these names.

3.3 Adaptations in literature

As briefly mentioned before, Tolkien's *The Story of Kullervo* is not a traditional translation and cannot, therefore, be analysed as one. We don't know whether Tolkien ever meant for his version to be published and how he would have presented it to the public, but we do know that he never went through with it himself. That is why it would be quite unjust and misleading to analyse his work through translation topics such as creative treason and faithfulness, or how well the target text functions in the target culture.

Given the somewhat unusual nature of *The Story of Kullervo*, the short story's relation to the *Kalevala* can be examined through the relationship between a translation and an adaptation. In *The Story of Kullervo*, the short story is referred to as an adaptation, and Tolkien himself titled it an "unfinished prose romance -- based

on [the] Kalevala” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 3). Distinguishing the difference between a translation and an adaptation is not a straightforward matter, especially since the initial stage of adaptation can be seen as consisting of translations (Chan 2012: 413). It might be better to consider their relation as a continuum, where a translation as faithful to the source text as possible is on one end, and an appropriated, barely recognisable version on the other.

What makes adaptations truly different from translations is that they provide a revised viewpoint for the reader. Translators are generally expected to take on the voice of the original author, i.e. to convey their intentions and to mirror their writing style and other characteristics as well as possible, whereas writers of adaptations are more prone to adding their own personal touches to the text (Amorim 2003: 198), both in terms of content and style. The line between a translator’s ‘absence’ and a rewriter’s ‘presence’ in texts is by no means clear, however. As such, the evaluation of adaptations is not a simple process and in adaptation studies, they are often not measured for their faithfulness to the source text, since that is not what they are aiming for. Sanders (2006: 20) considers analysing the adaptation process, the underlying ideologies and the chosen methodologies as the main objectives in adaptation studies.

Adaptation studies have mostly been concerned with works that are adapted from text to other mediums (Sanders 2006; Boulter and Grusin 1999; Cartmell and Whelehan 1999), such as text to film and vice versa. Especially since the beginning of the 21st century, however, studies examining adaptations from the point of view, and as part of, translation studies have begun to emerge as well (Milton 2009; Chan 2012; Amorim 2003). Adaptations have often been denounced for their appropriative qualities and lack of faithfulness to the source texts, but in recent years there has been a surge in more neutral and inclusive approaches (Chan 2012: 415).

Adaptation and appropriation can both be seen as subcategories of intertextuality. Sometimes the terms adaptation and appropriation are used interchangeably, but there are significant differences between the two. Adaptations retain a relationship with the source text along with some inadaptable, thematic elements, while appropriations strive to move away from the source text into a completely new product (Sanders 2006: 26). *The Story of Kullervo* is clearly an adaptation, since the

storyline is easily identifiable as the Kullervo cycle and Tolkien frequently and explicitly refers to it as being based on the *Kalevala*.

Adaptations often contain omissions, rewritings and additions, but they can still be recognised as works of the original author. They can have a wide range of intentions and objectives, and based on these they can be categorised as interpretations, continuations, imitations, parodies and rewritings among others. Adaptations are created through different practices, such as *transpositioning*, where the text is transferred from one genre to another, for example. *Editorial practice* is another method, where the author functions similarly to a publishing editor, refining the text according to his own views. The author can also amplify the source text by adding new elements, he can expand the story or update it so it would fit better with current literary trends, or adjust it to suit certain audiences, e.g. children. (Sanders 2006: 18–19.) Adaptations are often thought of as either ‘enriching’ or ‘impoverishing’ versions of the original. If a text is adjusted for children, for example, it can be viewed as either enriching the child’s reading experience or impoverishing the source text with oversimplifications (Amorim 2003: 197–198).

The writer’s intentions certainly affect the modifications he makes, but Milton (2009: 54) argues that language pairs also have an effect on how much an author will adapt a text while translating it. If there is a close affinity between the source and target languages, the target text will contain fewer modifications than if there are significant differences in the structures of the languages. English and Finnish belong to different language families and as such, have no genetic relationship. Tolkien was, naturally, well-aware of this and contributed the failure of past translations partly to them “dealing with a language separated by a quite immeasurable gulf in method and expression from English” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 69).

Lauro Amorim (2003: 198) also states that writers of adaptations are prone to be more well-known authors to begin with compared to translators. The latter are often assumed to take on a role of an invisible mediator, whereas writers of adaptations, whether fairly or not, are seen as incorporating more creative and personal input. Tolkien wasn’t yet a successful writer when composing *The Story of Kullervo*, but he would certainly become one later on. In a way, his adaptation functioned as the first step away from mere imitation towards creations of his own.

4 Material and Methodology

In the next subchapters, I will first introduce the material of this thesis, the *Kalevala* and *The Story of Kullervo*, after which I will go through the main sources relevant for this study. In the last subchapter, I will introduce the methods used in conducting this research.

4.1 Material

Kalevala is the national epic of Finland and Karelia. It is a collection of 50 songs, or poems, which were gathered from oral stories and written down by Elias Lönnrot, a Finnish philologist and physician, during his journeys across the country from 1828 to 1834. After the publication of the initial version in 1835, Lönnrot began working on a new, more extensive edition published in 1849. (Hyvönen 2008: 330.) At the time of the gathering and publication of the *Kalevala*, Finland was still an autonomous part of the Russian Empire, and the publication was instrumental in building and strengthening the national identity of Finns.

As material for this thesis, I used the new version of the *Kalevala* from 1984 and the second edition of Tolkien's *The Story of Kullervo*, published in 2017. Tolkien probably read one of the first editions of the new *Kalevala*, but since the proper names haven't been changed since the first publication, using the 1984 edition causes no issues in this regard. In addition to Tolkien's adaptation itself, *The Story of Kullervo* also includes notes Tolkien had jotted down during the writing process, namely a list containing variations and explanations of some proper names, as well as a draft of the plot synopsis. Included in this draft and the notes on proper names are some variations of names Tolkien doesn't use in the story itself, yet I will analyse these unused names as well.

The Finnish epic begins with earth's creation and tells the story of a vast number of characters, including Kullervo, who is the central figure in Tolkien's *The Story of Kullervo*. He is a tragic character, born with the traits of a hero and herculean strength, but because of his difficult upbringing he is unable to control his powers or impulses. He is not innately evil, nor does he want to be, but the misfortunes he faces throughout his life drive him to evil acts.

The Kullervo cycle in the *Kalevala* consists of six songs, which relate the story of Kullervo from his birth to his death. Kullervo grows up practically as an orphan after his uncle, Untamo, murders his family, sparing only Kullervo's expecting mother who later gives birth to him. Kullervo grows up as a slave in the house of Untamo and becomes fixated on revenging his family. Untamo sees Kullervo as a threat and after three attempts to kill him, he decides to sell Kullervo to a blacksmith. The blacksmith's wife torments Kullervo, who then retaliates by sending bears and wolves to tear her apart. He then has to flee to the woods and ends up finding his family unharmed, living in a cottage on the outskirts of Lapland. Kullervo lives with his family until one day, while running an errand, he accidentally seduces his missing sister. After finding out about their family connection, the sister commits suicide. Consumed with guilt, Kullervo embarks on a journey to kill Untamo and his people. After doing so, he returns to his family, who have all died while he was away. For Kullervo, this is the last straw and he decides to take his own life.

The *Kalevala* was composed of thousands of oral stories, which created a rather incoherent body of literature. Elias Lönnrot tied these stories together with his own additions and modifications in an attempt to create an epic similar to Homer's *Odyssey* (Siikala 2008: 316). He did succeed in piecing the oral stories together into a rather logical literary work, but it wasn't completely without inconsistencies and loosely connected sequences. In his adaptation, Tolkien attempted to fill in the gaps and fix the discontinuities – a habit quite characteristic of him (Garth 2014: 25). Tolkien also wanted to make the story into something of his own, saying “The beginning of the legendarium -- was in an attempt to reorganize some of the *Kalevala*, especially the tale of Kullervo the hapless, into a form of my own” (*Letters*, 214).

Tolkien discovered W.F. Kirby's English translation, *Kalevala, The Land of Heroes*, in 1911 while in his late teens. The novelty and strangeness of the story made a big impact on him, but he considered Kirby's translation awkward and clumsy. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 69.) He also studied Finnish at the time, although he was only able to “plod through a bit of the original, like a schoolboy with Ovid” (*Letters*, 214). As mentioned above, Tolkien had a habit of turning inconsistent stories into logical works, and Garth (2014: 24) suggests this to be the reason why he started working on

his adaptation – Tolkien felt the need to fix Kullervo’s story. He also thought W.F. Kirby hadn’t succeeded in telling the story well enough in his translation, saying “The newness worried me, sticking in awkward lumps through the clumsiness of a translation which had not at all overcome [Kalevala’s] peculiar difficulties; it irritated yet attracted” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 69).

It should be emphasized that while Tolkien is nowadays considered as one of the greatest fantasy writers in history, he was only a beginning writer when composing *The Story of Kullervo*. Verlyn Flieger (2017: 140), an esteemed Tolkien scholar, describes it as a trial piece of someone learning his craft, consciously following the patterns of the original work. Tolkien began writing *The Story of Kullervo* using the nomenclature from the *Kalevala* but later altered nearly all of it (ibid., xxii). Tolkien also created several additional names for characters, which was common in the *Kalevala* and became common in his future works as well.

Tolkien considered the *Kalevala* as a mythology of Finland and yearned for a similar ‘mythology’ for England. Even though *The Story of Kullervo* remained unfinished, Tolkien spent the rest of his life creating a mythology he could dedicate to his homeland. (*Letters*, 144.) He wrote *The Story of Kullervo* sometime between 1912 and 1914, but it wasn’t published in book form until a century later in 2015, even though it is unlikely that Tolkien himself ever intended for it to be published (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: xi–xii). The manuscript of the short story, however, was originally published in 2010 by Verlyn Flieger in the academic journal *Tolkien Studies: Volume 7*.

4.2 Main sources

My main sources included an essay Tolkien wrote on the topic, called *On ‘The Kalevala’ or Land of Heroes* and published alongside *The Story of Kullervo*, in which he analyses W.F. Kirby’s earlier translation, the origins of the *Kalevala* as well as the language and metre of the poems among other things. The essay exists in two states: the first manuscript is a rough draft of a talk he gave while studying at Exeter College in Oxford around 1914–1915. The second one is a somewhat revised typescript written after the First World War sometime between 1919 and 1924. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 63–64.) In addition to these, Verlyn Flieger’s notes and

other writings on the topic were also published alongside *The Story of Kullervo*, and I will be using them as material as well.

I also used *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* as a source of information, citing letters he wrote before, during and after the writing process. Especially in regard to the third research question concerning the relation between the nomenclature of *The Story of Kullervo* and Qenya, an important source was *Qenyaqesta: The Qenya Phonology and Lexicon*, an extensive study Tolkien wrote on the language sometime around 1915–16, although not published until 1998 in a journal of Elvish linguistics, *Parma Eldalamberon*.

As Tolkien wasn't fluent enough in Finnish to read the *Kalevala* solely in the source language, I also examined W.F. Kirby's English translation *Kalevala, The Land of Heroes* published originally in 1907 in the Everyman series. Tolkien read and analysed Kirby's translation while delving into the original *Kalevala*, and the translation can give us some insight into the translational choices Tolkien made.

As mentioned before, Tolkien also studied Finnish and he did this using C.N.E. Eliot's *A Finnish Grammar* from 1890. In fact, it seems that Tolkien discovered the *Kalevala* through Eliot's writings after finding the grammar in a library when he was supposed to be studying for his Honour Moderations (*Letters*, 214). In his book, Eliot analyses parts of the *Kalevala*, including passages from the Kullervo cycle, and he also comments on the language and other aspects of the epic. To get a comprehensive idea of the literary works that affected Tolkien's early language creation, I took Eliot's book into consideration when examining the linguistic choices Tolkien made when constructing his nomenclature.

The most important secondary sources for this study included Andrew Higgins' PhD thesis *The Genesis of J.R.R. Tolkien's Mythology* published in 2015. Higgins' PhD thesis delves into the earliest works of Tolkien, and he aims to examine these creative works in relation to each other rather than as separate entities. One section of Tolkien's earliest works, naturally, has to do with the *Kalevala* and the writing of *The Story of Kullervo*. Another important source was an article written by John Garth and published in 2014 called *The Road from Adaptation to Invention: How Tolkien Came to the Brink of Middle-earth in 1914*. This article gives its readers a better

understanding of how Tolkien's career as a writer began in the first place – what inspired him to move from reader to writer and from writer to creator. In connection with Tolkien's transformation, Garth examines the influence other literary works had on Tolkien's writings, sometimes bordering on plagiarism.

I also examined an article by Tom DuBois and Scott Mellor called *The Nordic Roots of Tolkien's Middle Earth* from 2002, where they discuss the relation between Finnish and the Elvish language Qenya as well as the effect the *Kalevala* had on Tolkien's *The Silmarillion*. Aimo Turunen's comprehensive book *Kalevalan sanat ja niiden taustat* published in 1979 was an invaluable source for examining the origins and meaning of the Finnish words, both proper and common names, used in the *Kalevala*.

4.3 Methodology

The aim of this thesis was to get a better understanding of Tolkien's early language creation by constructing a detailed analysis of the nomenclature used in *The Story of Kullervo*. I conducted my research through documentary analysis, a systematic procedure comprising the review and evaluation of both primary sources and research literature. I gathered all the proper names from *The Story of Kullervo* and the attached notes and drafts, as well as from the Kullervo cycle, poems 31-36 of the *Kalevala*. I also counted epithets as proper names, as in *Untamo the Evil* or *Ilu the God of Heaven*, but I did not take into consideration proper names that Tolkien had crossed out in his notes. I then divided the findings into three categories based on the classification system introduced by Andrew Higgins in his 2015 PhD thesis. After collecting and categorising all the proper names, I analysed them and their possible origins utilising the above-mentioned literary sources among others.

I compared my findings to the translational choices made by W.F. Kirby in his translation as well as the passages in Eliot's grammar book concerning the *Kalevala* to see if they could be seen influencing Tolkien's interpretation of the source text or other aspects of his creative work. In an attempt to answer the third research question concerning the relation between Tolkien's invented nomenclature and Qenya, I also examined the proper names through Tolkien's *Qenyaqesta: The Qenya Phonology and Lexicon*, introduced above. I mostly concentrated on the second part of the work,

the lexicon, since it is more relevant for this study. As outlined in Chapter 3, there are also many translational strategies that are used in translating proper names. I examined Tolkien's creative work from these theoretical points of view as well in order to determine whether there was any evidence of him using a theoretical approach in his adaptation or if there was any consistency in the way he constructed his nomenclature.

Document analysis is an efficient way of analysing the data gathered for this thesis. As Tolkien himself wrote much on the topic of the *Kalevala* and his language creation, examining his thought process while translating this segment of the *Kalevala* is possible, although I will try to refrain from making overgeneralised assumptions based on his limited and rather subjective writings. It is also important to keep in mind that Tolkien's notes, essays, letters and other writings on the *Kalevala* and related topics span over decades, and it would only be natural for him to change his mind and contradict himself along the way.

Subjectivity is a disadvantage when it comes to this research method, however. My main source – Tolkien himself – is by no means an objective source of information, especially with his sceptical stance on researchers trying to decipher the origins and originality of his work (*Letters*, 150). Although I have tried to utilise sources from different fields and viewpoints, document and content analysis inevitably lead to somewhat subjective interpretations as well.

5 Analysis

In examining the proper names in *The Story of Kullervo*, I used a classification method introduced by Andrew Higgins (2015: 76). He divides the names Tolkien invented into three categories:

1. invented names to replace original ones,
2. invented names for entities that are mentioned in the original but not named, and
3. invented names for entities Tolkien added to his story, which are not found in the original.

While this classification method is very functional in itself, I do disagree with some of the divisions Higgins makes. He also doesn't analyse all of the proper names or their variants from the *Kalevala* and *The Story of Kullervo*, while the data of this thesis includes all of them. As a result, I used his classification method in the tables below but divided the names into these categories somewhat differently.

Some of the inaccuracies in Higgins' division might be due to carelessness – e.g. Kullervo's dog, *Musti*, is classified as a name Tolkien invented for Kullervo's unnamed dog, when in fact it is a name used of it in the original Kullervo cycle (Lönnrot 1984: 298, 320). Other inaccuracies might be the result of not taking the whole *Kalevala* into account when examining the proper names Tolkien used. For example, the name of Ilmarinen's mother-in-law, *Louhiatar*, is categorised as a name Tolkien invented for the unnamed woman. Even though the mother-in-law is not mentioned by name in the Kullervo cycle, *Louhiatar* is one of her bynames.

The original proper names collected from the Finnish *Kalevala* are listed on the left-hand column, and the corresponding proper names from *The Story of Kullervo* are on the right-hand side. For the sake of clarity, I have listed all the proper names Tolkien transferred from the *Kalevala* unchanged into *The Story of Kullervo* in the middle column. These proper names won't be analysed in this thesis, nor will the handful of source text proper names that haven't been incorporated into *The Story of Kullervo* at all.

5.1 Invented names to replace original ones

In this first subchapter, which is the largest one, I will divide and examine the proper names under three headings: names of people, names of other animate beings, consisting namely of deities and animals, and lastly place names. Subchapters 5.2 and 5.3 contain significantly fewer proper names, which is why a division of this kind is unnecessary in those sections.

5.1.1 Proper names of people

<i>The Kalevala</i>	Proper names Tolkien transferred into <i>The Story of Kullervo</i>	<i>The Story of Kullervo</i>
Kullervo, Kalervon poika, Kullervoinen	Kullervo, Kullervoinen	Honto Taltewenlen, Kalervanpoika, Kalervonpoika, Kuli, Sākehonto, Sārihontō, Sārihonto, Hontō, Honto, Sāki, Sāke, Sāaki, Saki, Sāri
Untamo, Untamoinen, Unto	Untamo, Untamoinen	Unti, Untamō the Evil, Ūlto,
Ilmarinen, Ilmari, Ilma	Ilmarinen, Ilma	Āsemo, Āse, the Smith Āsemo
Pohjolan emäntä, Louhi, Louhiatar, Lovetar	Louhiatar, Louhi	Koi, Koi Queen of the marshlands, Koi Queen of Lōke
Kalervo, Kalervoinen	Kalervo, Kalervoinen	Kalervō, Kampo, Kampa, Nyelid, Keime, Kēma, Kēme, Talte, Paivāta, Saari

Table 1. Invented personal names used to replace original ones.

The first of Higgins' categories is the largest, since it is natural to create names to replace existing ones. One of the various names for Kullervo is *Honto Taltewenlen*, which also appears in an alternative title for the short story: *The Story of Honto Taltewenlen*. *Honto* is one of the various bynames for Kullervo, and *Talte* is a byname Tolkien invented for Kalervo, Kullervo's father. The addition *-wenlen* is considered a masculine patronymic suffix imitating the Finnish equivalent of *-poika*,

or ‘son’. The meaning of *Taltewenlen* would, then, be ‘the son of Kalervo’. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 49.)

Tolkien also uses the forms *Kalervonpoika*, *Kalervanpoika* and *Kullervo son of Kalervo* when referring to Kullervo in his adaptation. Although in the *Kalevala*, Kullervo is introduced as ‘Kullervo, Kalervon poika’, with a space between ‘Kalervo’ and ‘poika’, the patronymic name *Kalervonpoika* (eng. ‘Kalervo’s son’) would also be feasible in Finnish. These proper names can be seen as having an associative function, since they give information on the relationship between Kullervo and Kalervo, and Tolkien has retained this information using both the Finnish name *Kalervonpoika* and its English equivalents *Kullervo son of Kalervo*, *Sārihonto son of Kampa* etc. The name *Kalervanpoika* is only used once in Tolkien’s short story (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 10), and the substitution of the letter ‘o’ with the letter ‘a’ is probably a typing error.

Another byname for Kullervo is *Kuli*, which is merely a shortened version of *Kullervo*. In *Qenyaqesta*, the word *kulu* is defined as ‘gold’ and the word *kulurinda* as ‘orange-coloured’ (Tolkien 1998: 49). As Kullervo is described as having yellow or golden hair (e.g. Lönnrot 1984: 287; Lönnrot 1930: 78), his name might have served as inspiration for the Qenya word. Kullervo’s mother also called him *kultasolki* (Lönnrot 1984: 306), or a ‘golden brooch’ (Lönnrot 1930: 105). At the very end of the unfinished short story, Tolkien uses the letter ‘K’ to refer to Kullervo, although this is most likely due to the ending being a rapidly written draft of a synopsis, where the ‘K’ is used as a convenient abbreviation.

The rest of Kullervo’s bynames are *Sākehonto*, *Sārihontō*, *Sārihonto*, *Hontō*, *Honto*, *Sāki*, *Sāke*, *Sāaki*, *Saki* and *Sāri*, of which the last one is by far the most commonly used. They all seem like variations of one and the same name, and although they cannot be connected to the source language, they are a part of Tolkien’s first Elvish language, Qenya. *Sāri* is a proper name Tolkien uses of the sun in *The Book of Lost Tales*, and most of these bynames for Kullervo can be connected to the Qenya word *saha* or *sahya*, meaning ‘to be hot’ (Tolkien 1998: 81). The latter part of *Sākehonto*, *Sārihontō* and *Sārihonto*, *-honto*, also used as an independent name as seen above, is quite close to the Qenya noun *hondo*, meaning ‘heart’ (ibid., 40). This would suggest that Kullervo’s bynames have the semantic meaning of ‘heart of fire’, ‘fire-hearted’,

‘hot-hearted’, or simply ‘fire’ or ‘heart’. In the *Kalevala*, Kullervo is depicted as quite an impulsive, hot-tempered character, which might indicate a connection between the semantic content of these proper names and the denoted object. *Sincanhonda* also means ‘flint-hearted’ in Qenya (Tolkien 2007: 979). Tolkien gives his own insight into the name *Kullervo* in *The Story of Kullervo*, when he writes about the unhappy mother naming her children: “—and she named the boy Kullervo, or ‘wrath’, and his daughter Wanōna, or ‘weeping’.” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 7). Tolkien drew a connection between the words *Kullervo* and *wrath*, and it would therefore seem plausible that he had added a similar semantic meaning to the bynames, e.g. *Sākehonto*, or ‘fire-hearted’.

As seen in many of the names examined above, Tolkien often uses macrons in his constructed names. Macrons are usually used to indicate a long vowel (Oxford University Press n.d.) in natural languages. In the *Qenya Lexicon* (Tolkien 1998: 9–10), however, Tolkien gives explanations for these circumflexes: ‘ā’ is pronounced slightly further back than a simple ‘a’, like in the word ‘part’, and ‘ō’ is a medium closed vowel except before the letter ‘r’, in which case it would apparently be more open, like in the word ‘ton’. Later on, we will be examining names containing letters ‘ū’, ‘ë’ and ‘ē’ as well, so I will briefly explain their pronunciation here. Tolkien defines the letter ‘ū’ as simply “close round” and “long close”, whereas ‘ë’ is an open vowel and ‘ē’ somewhat closer. Note, however, that these pronunciation guides have to do with the early version of Qenya, and there is no way of knowing whether Tolkien applied these rules already to the nomenclature he created for *The Story of Kullervo*, or whether they were even in existence at that point.

Of Untamo, Tolkien uses the bynames *Unti*, *Untamō the Evil* and *Ūlto*. These are all derived from the original name, and the epithet *Untamō the Evil* could be seen as a form of modification. While the proper name *Untamo* does not contain any semantic value indicative of wickedness in the source language, the story line does portray the character as an enemy of Kullervo’s family. In the source text, Untamo is described as “Untamo, utala miesi” (Lönnrot 1984: 280, 285), roughly translated as ‘Untamo, a cunning man’. In the Kullervo cycle he is described in this manner twice, and Kirby translated these two parts as “Untamo of hasty temper” and “the mighty Untamoinen” (Lönnrot 1930: 69, 76). Tolkien might have constructed the epithet

Untamō the Evil based on the Finnish source text, whilst adding a descriptive function to it to reinforce Untamo's role as a villain. The word *untamo* became a noun in Kenya as well, meaning 'enemy' (Garth 2014: 28).

For the smith Ilmarinen, Tolkien created the proper name *Āsemo*, also calling him *Āse* and *the Smith Āsemo*. Flieger (2017: 55—56) suggests that Tolkien used the Finnish noun *ase*, meaning 'weapon' or 'tool', as a base for the proper name. As mentioned before, the letter 'ā' is pronounced similarly to the vowel in the word 'part', which is how the first letter in the Finnish word *ase* is pronounced as well. The suffix *-mo* is defined as an agent suffix: an ending that identifies an entity performing an action (ibid.). This would render the meaning of the smith's name something along the lines of 'tool user' or 'weapon user'.

The mother of Ilmarinen's wife is a central figure in the *Kalevala*, but in the Kullervo cycle she is merely mentioned on a few occasions. In his notes, Tolkien lists *Louhiatar* as the name of the Smith's wife, not his mother-in-law, but in the story itself he uses proper names *Louhi*, *Koi*, *Koi Queen of the marshlands* and *Koi Queen of Lōke* consistently of her. *Koi* is a Finnish common noun, meaning 'dawn' or 'daybreak', and it is not related to the source text proper name *Louhi* semantically or morphologically. In the *Kalevala*, Louhi is depicted as a powerful sorcerer, who has the power to control the movements of the sun and the moon among other things (Lönnrot 1984: 368, 416). There is no way of knowing whether Tolkien was aware of Louhi's powers, but it is possible that the meaning of the proper name *Koi* lies in her ability to command the sun to rise.

Louhi is the ruler of a mythical place called Pohjola or Pohja, a dark and gloomy region in the North. The epithet *Koi Queen of the marshlands* would, then, give additional information about the land she rules, although Tolkien does call Finland, or Sutse/Sutsi, a 'marshland' as well. A comparison has also been drawn between the names *Louhi* and *Loki* (Turunen 1979: 185), the latter being the name of a god in Norse mythology. This is a connection Tolkien possibly made himself when constructing the name *Queen of Lōke*. Both Louhi and Loki are depicted as somewhat malicious deities in their respective epics which might have inspired the construction of the Kenya word *lōme*, or 'dusk, gloom, darkness' and *lōmear*, or 'child of gloom' (Tolkien 1998: 55).

Of Kalervo, the father of Kullervo, Tolkien used quite many different names: *Kalervō*, *Kampo*, *Kampa*, *Nyelid*, *Keime*, *Kēma*, *Kēme*, *Talte*, *Paiväta* and *Saari*. A hint of naturalisation might be seen in *Kalervō* and other names examined above with the same macron. Tolkien hasn't adapted these names into the phonological conventions of English, but it is possible that these names have been altered to fit Qenya phonology. The bynames *Kampo* and *Kampa* are used interchangeably in *The Story of Kullervo*. These names do not seem to bear any semantic information, but *Kampa* is later used in Tolkien's book *The Silmarillion*, published originally in 1977, as a name for one of Tolkien's earliest characters, Eärendil, with the meaning 'leaper'. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: xxii.)

The name *Nyelid* is not related to Finnish morphologically or semantically, and it seems that this was a product of Tolkien's own imagination. According to Flieger (2017: 60), the proper name might mean something like 'of the clan of' but she also draws attention to the root NYEL-, with which words meaning 'ring, sing, give out a sweet sound' are formed in some of Tolkien's Elvish languages. Christopher Tolkien, however, writes about a similar word *Nieliqui* in connection with *Nyelid*, which has been derived from the root NYEHE-, meaning 'to weep' (Tolkien, J and Tolkien, C 1983: 262).

Talte, *Paiväta* and *Saari* are all proper names used of Kullervo only in Tolkien's notes. They do not appear in the short story itself, with the exception of *Talte* being used as part of Kullervo's name, *Honto Taltewenlen*, discussed in the first paragraph. The name *Talte* can't be connected to the source text or the source language per se, but Garth (2014: 40) does suggest a connection to the Qenya word *talta*, or 'to lade, burden, load, charge, oppress, weigh down'. There might be some truth to it, but it is impossible to say for sure, since there are many other similar words in Qenya, like *talde*, 'to cover' and *talta*, 'shaky, wobbly' (Tolkien 1998: 93).

The latter two proper names resemble Finnish quite closely. *Saari* stands for 'an island' and it is also used both as a place name, *Saari*, and as a proper name, *Saarelainen*, in the *Kalevala*, although not in the Kullervo cycle (see e.g. Lönnrot 1984: 82–87). *Paiväta*, on the other hand, is not a direct loan from Finnish, but it does look similar to the word *päivä*, which in modern Finnish is almost exclusively used as 'day'. In the *Kalevala*, *Päivä* is often also used in reference of the sun,

Päivälä when talking of his dwelling place and *Päivän poika*, or ‘the son of Sun’, when he is personified. There is also a goddess of the sun called *Päivätär*, which resembles Tolkien’s *Paiväta* quite closely (see e.g. Lönnrot 1984: 82, 210; Turunen 1979: 269–270.) The word *päivä*, with the meaning of ‘day’, is also used in the Kullervo cycle (see e.g. Lönnrot 1984: 280–281, 283–284).

5.1.2 Proper names of animate beings

The Kalevala	Proper names transferred into <i>The Story of Kullervo</i>	<i>The Story of Kullervo</i>
Musti	Musti	Mauri, Musti the Hound
Hiisi, Lempo	Lempo	Tanto, Tanto Lord of Hell
Jumala, Luoja, Ukko, Herra	Jumala, Ukko	Ilu, Ilu the God of Heaven, Ilukko, Iluko, Creator, Lord, Ukko the highest of Gods, Malōlo
Tapio, Suvetar, Etelätär, Hongatar, Katajatar, Pihlajatar, Tuometar, Mielikki, Nyyrikki	Tapio	Sampia, Telenda, Kaltūse, Palikki, Uorlen,
Tellervo	-	Terenye
Kuippana	-	Kūru
Otsonen	-	Uru, Honeypaw
Tuomikki, Kirjo, Syötikki, Juotikki, Hermikki, Tuorikki, Mairikki, Omena, Kirjos, Karjos, Pienikki, Kyyttä	-	Urula

Table 2. Invented names of animate beings used to replace original ones.

One of the most significant characters for *The Story of Kullervo*’s storyline is Kullervo’s beloved dog, Musti. In his adaptation, Tolkien retains the original name, but he also uses the epithet *Musti the Hound* and the proper name *Mauri* when

talking of it. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, *Musti* is an old dog name derived from the Finnish word *musta*, meaning ‘black’. In *The Story of Kullervo*, Tolkien calls the dog *Musti* in the first half of the story (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 6–12) and *Mauri* in the rest of the story (ibid., 14–32), with the exception of referring to it as *Musti* in the quickly written draft synopsis of the ending (ibid., 39–40). *Mauri* doesn’t appear in the source text, but it is a traditional Finnish male name. Flieger (ibid., 52) suggests that Tolkien might have modelled the name on *Muuri/Muurikki*, an old Finnish name given to a cow.

Tolkien was deeply invested in the creation of his languages and their linguistic history and coherence. Although he was only a beginning writer and linguist when composing *The Story of Kullervo*, the roots of *Mauri* might reach further back than what Flieger has suggested. The Finnish name has many counterparts in other languages, such as *Mauritz*, *Moritz* and *Maurice*, and they are connected to Saint Maurice and furthermore to the Moor people (*maurit* in Finnish) of Northern Africa. The classic Latin name for Northern Africans is *maurus* which, in different languages, has come to mean things like ‘dark-haired’, ‘dark-skinned’, ‘black’ or ‘dark’ in general. In Finland, the equivalent common name is *murjaani* (eng. blackamoor). (Vilkamaa-Viitala 2004.) It is, however, difficult to say for sure whether Tolkien’s decision to use *Mauri* has anything to do with the above-mentioned names.

In his PhD thesis, Higgins (2015: 77) categorises the proper name *Lempo* as belonging to the third group, that is to say, as an entity Tolkien created as a whole. *Lempo* is mentioned in *The Story of Kullervo* twice: first, when Kullervo is cursing Untamo’s forest so that no tree would ever grow there again, and later on when he’s cursing Wanōna for rejecting him. In his notes, Tolkien describes *Lempo* as ‘plague and death’, ‘the god of evil’ and ‘the spirit of Evil’ (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 42, 82, 123). According to Verlyn Flieger (ibid., 55), Tolkien modelled the proper name *Lempo* on *Lempi*, a name she appoints to the father of one of *Kalevala*’s heroes, Lemminkäinen. *Lempi* is also a common noun in Finnish, meaning ‘(erotic) love’, and Flieger argues that Tolkien borrowed the name but not the meaning behind it when constructing *Lempo*.

I disagree with both Higgins and Flieger, which is why I have included *Lempo* in the first category. First of all, Lempo is mentioned by name in the source text, when Kullervo is cursing Untamo's forest. The passage is listed below as it is in the English translation (a), Tolkien's adaptation (b) and the Finnish source text (c).

Example 1

- (a) Lempo may the work accomplish, Hiisi may now shape the timber! (Lönnrot 1930: 75)
- (b) May Tanto Lord of Hell do such labour and send Lempo for the timbers fashioning (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 14)
- (c) Lempo tuota raatakohon! Hiisi hirret kaatakohon! (Lönnrot 1984: 285)

We can, therefore, conclude that neither the name nor the character is of Tolkien's own invention. Secondly, Lempo is depicted in the *Kalevala* as a fiend, or an evil spirit (Turunen 1979: 175). This would suggest that Tolkien has simply transferred said proper name into the target text unchanged and written down its original meaning in his notes.

As seen in the above quote, Tolkien also writes about a deity he calls *Tanto* or *Tanto Lord of Hell*. It has similar features to *Lempo* and *Hiisi* and functions, as the epithet *Tanto Lord of Hell* would suggest, as an evil deity. In the *Kalevala*, *Hiisi* is used of a place where dead spirits dwell, or hell, or generally of horrific places, an evil spirit equivalent of the devil or an evil spirit of the forest (Turunen 1979: 48–49). In the passage above, Tolkien seems to have switched the places of *Hiisi* and *Lempo*, and thus used *Tanto* in reference to *Hiisi*. Tolkien gave *Tanto* a definition of “god of death” in his notes (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 42). Even though *Hiisi* and *Lempo* share similar qualities in the source text, they are different deities or spirits. Tolkien may have thought these two to be one and the same character, however, and therefore used the name *Tanto* of them interchangeably. He might have read Kirby's short analysis on the subject, which would only strengthen this misconception: “*Hiisi* – the same as *Lempo*, the Evil Power” (Lönnrot 1930: 281).

Even though quite many different gods and goddesses are mentioned in the *Kalevala* and *The Story of Kullervo*, there is also a supreme deity in both. There are two main gods mentioned in the *Kalevala*, the supreme deity Ukko and God (*Jumala* or *Luoja* in Finnish). It is not certain whether these refer to the same deity or not – their

history is somewhat obscure with pagan and Christian elements intertwined (Turunen 1979: 78, 356). Tolkien, however, makes a somewhat clearer distinction between two main deities: Ilu is the God of heaven and Malōlo the Creator of the earth. Tolkien probably uses the name *Ilu* to refer to the *Kalevala*'s deity Ukko or Jumala. Ukko is described in the *Kalevala* as "itse ilmojen jumala" (Lönnrot 1984: 61), directly translated as 'the god of air itself' or 'the god of heaven itself'. Kirby translated this part as "the God above in heaven", which doesn't denote a similar ownership or dominance this god has over air or heaven. Tolkien was aware of Ukko's connection to air, as he writes in his essay on the *Kalevala* "-- there is Jumala in the heavens (Jumala whose name is used for God in the Bible, but who in the poems is usually a god of the air and clouds) --." (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 123). Based on this remark, he seems to have considered Ukko and Jumala as one deity, then. In Qenya, the base root UQU- is used to construct word having to do with rain, such as *ukku* for 'rainbow' (Tolkien 1998: 98). *Ukkonen*, on the other hand, means 'thunder' in Finnish.

Of Ukko or Jumala, Tolkien uses the proper names *Ilu*, *Ilukko*, *Iluko*, *Lord*, *Creator* and epithets *Ilu the God of Heaven* and *Ukko the highest of Gods*. The base root ILU- is defined in the *Qenya Lexicon* as 'ether, the slender airs among the stars' (Tolkien 1998: 42). Flieger (2017: 58) suggests that the name for heaven, *Ilwinti* – which will be analysed in more detail below – is derived from the Finnish word *ilma*, meaning 'air'. It is probable, therefore, that the proper names *Ilu*, *Ilukko* and *Iluko* are connected to the Finnish word *ilma* as well. The latter parts of *Ilukko* and *Iluko* most likely come from the supreme deity Ukko, although in his notes attached to *The Story of Kullervo*, Tolkien defines Ilu and Iluko as "God of the Sky (the good God)", often confused with Ukko" (ibid., 41). Additionally, these proper names resemble the name *Ilúvatar*, which is what the supreme deity of Tolkien's invented mythology is called. In the *Kalevala*, the goddess of air is called *Ilmatar*, which is constructed from the word *ilma* and the feminine suffix *-tar*. It seems probable, therefore, that the proper name *Ilúvatar* has been constructed using the same formula.

The proper names *Creator* and *Lord* are direct translations of the Finnish names *Luoja* and *Herra*, both used in the original Kullervo cycle. Kirby uses these English proper names as well, although occasionally in reference to the pagan goddesses. For

example, when the smith's wife is praying for them to protect her cattle, she calls them "luonnon tytär" or "luonnotar" (Lönnrot 1984: 288). The former means 'nature's daughter' and the latter is constructed from the word *luonto* (eng. nature) and the feminine suffix *-tar*, denoting a female personification of nature. Kirby, however, translates both of these as "Daughter of Creation" (Lönnrot 1930: 80), possibly either mistaking the Finnish word *luonto* for *luoja/luomus*, or 'Creator/creation', or on purpose.

John Garth (2014: 29) has examined the similarity between Tolkien's nomenclature and the proper names H. W. Longfellow uses in his epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha*, published in 1855. Garth uses the proper name mentioned briefly above, *Malōlo*, as an example. *Malōlo* is the word Tolkien uses for a deity, a creator of the earth, and *Manatomi* is defined as 'sky, heaven' in *The Story of Kullervo*. *Manimo*, on the other hand, is defined as a 'holy soul' in the *Qenya Lexicon* (Tolkien 1998: 58). The connection to Longfellow's usage of word *manito* as a general word for deities and guardian spirits is somewhat noticeable. Tolkien has talked about Longfellow pirating ideas from the *Kalevala* while writing *The Song of Hiawatha*, saying: "[The metre of the poem] was pirated as was the idea of the poem and much of the incident (though none of its spirit at all) by Longfellow. -- [The Song of Hiawatha] is but a mild and gentle bowdlerising of the *Kalevala* coloured, I imagine, with disconnected bits of Indian lore and perhaps a few genuine names. Longfellow's names are often too good to be inventions" (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 78). This could be seen as quite an ironic remark, since many elements of the *Kalevala* as well as *The Song of Hiawatha* can be found in Tolkien's own works as well. It is, however, a clear indication that Tolkien was well acquainted with Longfellow's nomenclature.

In the Kullervo cycle, many different gods and goddesses are mentioned when Ilmarinen's wife is asking for their protection upon her cattle. Tolkien has shortened the prayer substantially and replaced the original ten proper names with unrelated names. The names of these gods and goddesses in *The Story of Kullervo* are *Sampia*, *Telenda*, *Kaltūse*, *Terenye*, *Samyan*, *Uorlen* and *Palikki*. As with many of the proper names Tolkien invented, these names don't seem to be connected to the source language, but some of them do have counterparts in Qenya. Of *Sampia*, Tolkien

writes: “O thou Sampia most lovely // Blow the honey horn most gaily” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 23). Garth (2014: 40) connects this to the Qenya word, *simpa/simpina*, meaning ‘pipe, flageolet, flute’.

Tolkien describes Telenda as being capable of digging wells all silver (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 24), and in Qenya, the word for silver is *telempe* or *telpe* (Tolkien 1998: 91). It is impossible to determine which came first, however: the proper names in *The Story of Kullervo* or the Qenya words. There is also a less definite connection to be made between Tolkien’s nomenclature and the early forms of Qenya when the wife of Ilmarinen asks the goddess Terenye to be the shepherd or netherd of her cattle. In Qenya, the word *turinya* means ‘to reign over, to rule over’, although more likely meant to be used in a royal court setting (ibid., 95). The name *Terenye* is probably used of the *Kalevala*’s young forest goddess Tellervo and *Samya* of Tapio, the supreme god of forests. In his notes, Tolkien has also given *Samya* the definition of “god of the forest” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 42). We can see this comparison clearly in a passage Tolkien has otherwise copied quite directly from Kirby’s translation. Below are the passages as they are in the English translation (a), Tolkien’s adaptation (b) and the Finnish source text (c).

Example 2

- (a) Tellervo, O maid of Tapio // Little daughter of the forest, // Clad in soft and beauteous garments, // With thy yellow hair so lovely. (Lönnrot 1930: 84)
- (b) O Terenye maid of Samyan // Little daughter of the forests, // Clad in soft and beauteous garments, // With thy golden hair so lovely. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 25)
- (c) Tellervo, Tapion neiti, metsän tyttö tylleröinen, // utupaita, hienohelma, hivus keltainen korea. (Lönnrot 1984: 291)

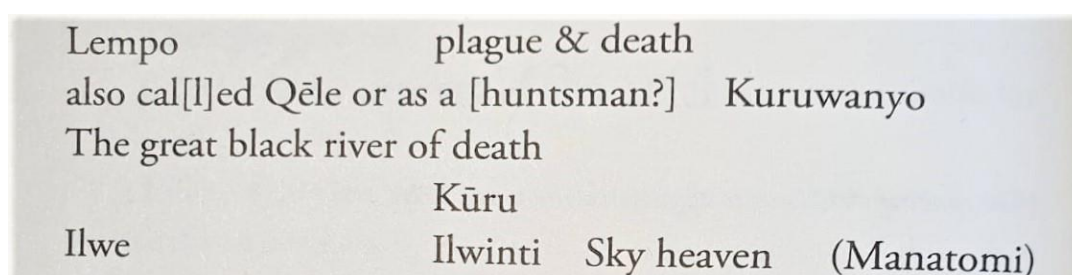
The lines in the English translation and Tolkien’s adaptation are nearly the same except for the proper names. I haven’t listed *Samyan* solely as an equivalent for *Tapio* as I did with *Terenye* and *Tellervo*, however, since the second and last time Tolkien uses the proper name, it seems to be used in place of the source text place name *Metsola*, which is used as a metaphor for the dwelling place of forests (Turunen 1979: 208). I will again list the passages below, the first being the English translation (a), the second Tolkien’s adaptation (b) and the last the Finnish source text (c).

Example 3

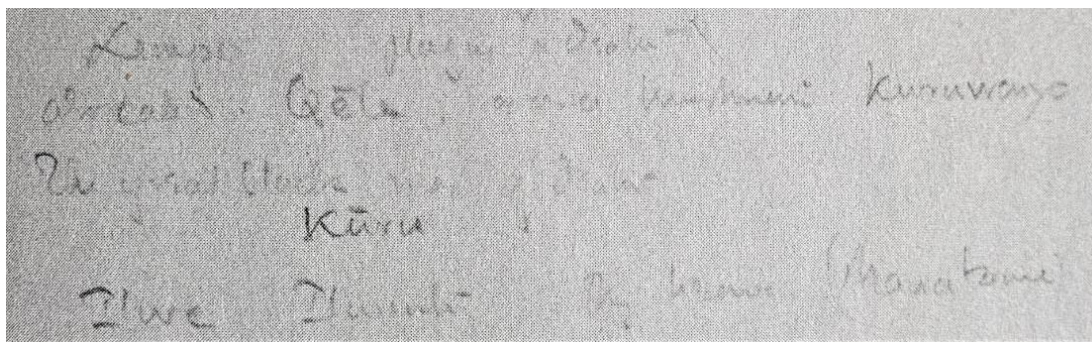
- (a) When in Metsola the honey // Is fermenting and is working, // On the hills of golden colour, // And upon the plains of silver. (Lönnrot 1930: 88)
- (b) When in Samyan is the honey // All fermenting on the hillslopes // Of the golden land of Kēme. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 27)
- (c) Metsolan metinen amme hapata huhuttelevi // kultaisella kunnahalla, hope'isella mäellä. (Lönnrot 1984: 293)

The rest of the names, *Kaltūse*, *Palikki*, *Uorlen* and also *Samyan*, don't seem to have any noticeable counterparts in Qenya or the source language, although the latter part of *Palikki* is probably inspired by the source text deities, such as *Mielikki* and *Nyyrikki*. *Uorlen* might be misspelled in *The Story of Kullervo* as in the book edition, it has been written inside brackets as “[Uorlen?]”, but in the manuscript published in 2010, it is marked as “[illegible]”.

Both Flieger (2017: 59) and Higgins (2015: 82) define the proper name *Kūru* as a place name. They argue that Tolkien defines it as ‘the great black river of death’ in his notes, similarly to Tuoni examined more closely in Subchapter 5.3. They suggest it might be constructed from the Finnish word *kuolema*, meaning ‘death’ (Flieger 2017: 59; Higgins 2015: 82). The notes are somewhat difficult to interpret here, however. The layout is as seen in the pictures below, where the first one is a transcript presumably written by Flieger or others involved, and the latter one is a somewhat dim copy of Tolkien's original notes.



Picture 1. Transcript of Tolkien's notes



Picture 2. A scan of Tolkein's original, hand-written notes.

As seen above, the word *Kūru* is written below its presumed definition, making it more difficult to ascertain that they are indeed connected to each other. Tolkein uses the proper name once in *The Story of Kullervo*, again in the prayer of Ilmarinen's wife. The passage is not a direct translation of the source text, but I would argue it is translated from the passages below, where the English translation is presented first (a), followed by Tolkein's adaptation (b) and lastly the passage from the Finnish source text (c).

Example 4

- (a) Kuippana, thou king of woodland, // Active greybeard of the forest, // Hold thy dogs in careful keeping, // Watch thou well thy dogs and guard them - - Nor neglect to bind them firmly. (Lönnrot 1930: 90–91)
- (b) O then Ukko silver monarch // Hearken to my sweet entreaty. // Bind in leash the dogs of Kūru // And enchain the forest wild things. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 27)
- (c) Kuippana, metsän kuningas, metsän hipa halliparta! // Korjaale koiriasi, raivaele rakkiasi! - - rakkisi rapoa kiinni. (Lönnrot 1984: 295)

A bit later on there is a passage in the English translation,

Ukko, then, O golden monarch, // Ukko, O thou silver guardian (Lönnrot 1930: 91), which Tolkein also seems to have modelled his translation on. In the source text, Ilmarinen's wife is praying directly to a forest deity, Kuippana, so he would control his dogs. It seems that Tolkein changed the recipient of the plead to be the supreme deity Ukko, meaning that Ilmarinen's wife is praying for him to control the dogs of Kūru. This would mean that Kūru is either a place where these dogs reside in or come from, or that it is an entity the dogs belong to. Based on the source text, the latter seems more plausible, meaning that Tolkein would have substituted the source text *Kuippana* for *Kūru*. This view is endorsed by the Kenya base root *kuru*, which

Tolkien has written down as ‘magic, wizardy (of the good magic)’, from which words like *kuruvar* and *kuruni*, or ‘wizard’ and ‘witch’, are derived (Tolkien 1998: 49). As they are used to refer to living entities, it would seem logical for *Kūru* to do so too.

The other two names seen in the pictures, *Qēle* and *Kuruwanyo*, are only present in these notes – they do not appear in the story itself. Flieger (2017: 59) suggests the latter might be a variant of *Kūru*. Right before these proper names, Tolkien has written down the name of the evil deity Lempo, examined above, along with a definition ‘plague & death’. Based on this very restricted amount of data at hand, it would seem plausible that both *Qēle* and *Kuruwanyo* are connected to Lempo and form a single sentence as seen in the notes: “also cal[l]ed Qēle or as a [hunter?] Kuruwanyo”. This would mean that *Qēle* and *Kuruwanyo* are bynames for Lempo, the latter possibly used of him as a hunter. Higgins (2015: 98–99), although in connection with the name *Kūru*, points out that Tolkien has also created a character called *Kuruki*, presented as an evil magician in the early version of *The Book of Lost Tales*. Both *Kuruki* and Lempo, or *Kuruwanyo*, possess similar characteristics, then, supporting this view. As *Qēle* and *Kuruwanyo* are only mentioned in the notes seen above with little to no context, their true referent is left uncertain. It is also difficult to ascertain whether the phrase “The great black river of death” is connected to the other names surrounding it or whether it is merely a disconnected piece of writing.

When constructing his languages, Tolkien put great emphasis on their authenticity and coherence, which means that the words often contain different nuances and connotations similarly to natural languages. This is evident in the case of *Otsonen* – the byname for a bear in the prayer of Ilmarinen’s wife. In the past, bears were considered such powerful creatures that the use of their actual name was thought to be dangerous (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 59). Instead of *karhu* (eng. bear), Ilmarinen’s wife uses the names *mesikämmen* and *Otsonen*. Tolkien follows the same practice, calling the bear *Honeypaw* and *Uru*. The former is an equivalent of *mesikämmen* in English, also translated by Kirby as “with paws of honey” (e.g. Lönnrot 1930: 86), and the latter seems to be a product of Tolkien’s own imagination. *Otsonen* is a diminutive form of *Otso*, which means ‘seven’ in Qenya. Garth (2014: 41) argues that this word for the number seven is connected to the

Plough – a constellation consisting of seven bright stars, which form a part of the Great Bear.

Tolkien omitted most of the names for the cows of Ilmarinen’s wife. He only mentions one by name: “—Urula the most aged cow of the herd” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 29). In this part of the story, Kullervo takes the leg bone of the cow Urula and makes a powerful flute out of it. This would indicate that the words *Uru* and *Urula* might be connected to powerful, respected entities. On the other hand, *uru* is also the word for ‘fire’ in Qenya (Tolkien 1998: 98), but it is difficult to say whether it is connected to the proper names in *The Story of Kullervo*.

5.1.3 Place names

<i>The Kalevala</i>	Proper names Tolkien transferred into <i>The Story of Kullervo</i>	<i>The Story of Kullervo</i>
Karjala (Karelia)	-	Telea, Teleä
Venäjä (Russia)	-	Kemenūme, Kēmēnūme, Kēme, Kame, the Great Land
Suomi (Finland)	-	Sutse, Sutsi, Lumya
Untamola, Untola	Untola	Puhōsa, Pūhu
taivas (heaven)	-	Ilwe, Ilwinti, Manoine, Manatomi
Tuonela, Manala, Kalma	-	Amuntu, Pūlu

Table 3. Invented place names used to replace original ones.

The last part of invented names in this category consists of place names. The first one is *Telea* or *Teleä*, a name Tolkien invented for Karelia – the region where most of the oral stories for the *Kalevala* were collected from. Again, *Telea/Teleä* has little in common with the source language or text in general. In Qenya, Tolkien uses the root TELE- to construct words referring to ‘little elves’ (Tolkien 1998: 91), such as *Teleakta*, a name for one of his Elvish languages. Higgins (2015: 119) suggests that Tolkien was inspired by the Finns of the *Kalevala* when creating his Elvish people.

He draws this connection based on the similar ways Tolkien describes both Finns “and their queer language” (*Letters*, 8) and the elves, and how the origins of elves and fairies have often been linked with the Lappish people (see Higgins 2016).

For Russia, Tolkien uses the proper names *Kemenūme*, *Kěměnūme*, *Kēme* and *Kame*. He might have drawn inspiration for these names from the river Kemi, or from the city with the same name on its shores (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 50), although these are situated in the southwest region of Finnish Lapland instead of Eastern Finland or Russia. Tolkien wrote two poems, although unpublished, on one of the *Kalevala*’s heroes, Lemminkäinen. The alternate title of one of the poems is *Lemminkainen goeth to the Land of Ilma the Smith and Kemi the Brook* (Higgins 2015: 70), which shows us that Tolkien was at least aware of the river Kemi. In the *Qenya Lexicon*, the base root KELE-/KELU- is used to form words that have to do with water, such as *kelume* for ‘stream’ (Tolkien 1998: 12). Garth (2014: 27), on the other hand, connects the names *Kemenūme* and *Kěměnūme* to the Qenya base root KEME-, meaning ‘soil’, and *-ūme*, a Qenya suffix derived from the word *ūmea*, or ‘large’. One of the derivatives of the base root is *kemi*, which means ‘soil, land, earth’ (Tolkien 1998: 46). Thus, the meaning of *Kemenūme* and *Kěměnūme* would be something like ‘a large land’. Tolkien also used the epithet *The Great Land*, when referring to Russia in his notes, and the above proper names might be mere translations of this epithet, or vice versa.

Kēme and *Kame* have been defined by Flieger (2017: xxii, 59) as shortened versions of *Kemenūme* and *Kěměnūme*. In his notes, Tolkien also uses *Kēme* as a reference for Kalervo, writing down “Teleä – land of Kēme’s birth” (ibid., 41). These two place names have probably been thought to reference Russia only based on their similarity with *Kemenūme* and *Kěměnūme*. It is possible, therefore, that they are proper names Tolkien created for completely separate fictional places, since in *The Story of Kullervo* it is not made explicit that they denote Russia. The referents of these names are left quite vague, for example in “Of the golden land of Kēme // Neath the faring bees a-humming”. *Kēme* and *Kame* are only mentioned in the prayers of Ilmarinen’s wife, and in the source text, Russia isn’t mentioned in them at all.

As mentioned above, Tolkien also used the epithet *The Great Land* of Russia in his notes. In the short story itself, he only uses it once when Untamo is selling Kullervo

to the smith Ilmarinen. The smith lived in Karelia, however, which makes it seem like *the Great Land* is used to refer to it rather than Russia. It might be that Tolkien was confused by the source text, where both Karelia and Russia are mentioned in the same passage. Below is the English translation (a), Tolkien’s adaptation (b) and the Finnish source text (c).

Example 5

- (a) Shall I take him into Russia // Shall I sell him in Carelia // To the smith named Ilmarinen // That he there may wield the hammer? (Lönnrot 1930: 77)
- (b) I will sell him as a bond-slave in the Great Land. There the Smith Āsemo will have him that his strength may wield the hammer. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 17).
- (c) Joko vien Venäehelle tahi kaupin Karjalahan // Ilmariselle sepolle, sepon paljan painajaksi. (Lönnrot 1984: 286)

Tolkien uses the name *Sutse* or *Sutsi* for Finland, possibly modified from the Finnish word for Finland, *Suomi*. In his notes, Tolkien has written down “Sutse – the marshland” and a bit before that “Lumya – the marshland” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 41, 42). It is probable, therefore, that *Lumya* is another proper name he constructed for Finland, although it doesn’t seem to be semantically connected to either Finnish or Qenya. A similar independent creation seems to be *Puhōsa* or *Pūhu*, used of *Untamola*, the homestead of Untamo. The latter form is possibly a diminutive form of *Puhōsa* (ibid., 57).

Tolkien uses the proper names *Ilwe*, *Ilwinti*, *Manoine* and *Manatomi* when talking of heaven, which in the source text is referred to with the Finnish common name *taivas*, ‘heaven’. *Ilwinti* was already briefly mentioned in Chapter 5.1.2, and Tolkien has given it the meaning ‘heaven’ and ‘sky’ (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 42). As with the supreme deity *Ilu*, *Ilwinti* is most likely formed from the Finnish word *ilma*, meaning ‘air’ (ibid., 58), while *Ilwe* seems to be an abbreviation of *Ilwinti*. *Ilwe* can also be found in Qenya with the meaning ‘sky, heavens, the blue air that is about the stars, the middle layers’ (Tolkien 1998: 42). The other proper names *Manatomi* and *Manoine* are presumably connected to Longfellow’s noun *manito*, a ‘deity or a guardian spirit’ (Garth 2014: 29), already discussed in the previous subchapter as well.

The second to last proper name in this category is *Amuntu*, which refers to the realm of the dead, or hell, in *The Story of Kullervo*. In Tolkien's *The Book of Lost Tales*, there is a citadel called *Utumna* – an anagram of *Amuntu* (Garth 2014: 40). *Utumna* is a home to various demons and other monsters (Tolkien, J and Tolkien, C 1983: 271), which renders it quite similar in nature to *Amuntu*. The names *Utumna* and *Amuntu* can be seen as being related to the Qenya word *tumna*, meaning 'deep, profound, dark or hidden' (Tolkien 1998: 95). *Tumna* also bears quite a strong resemblance to the Finnish word *tumma*, meaning 'dark'.

There is also a proper name, *Pūlu*, which Flieger (2017: 58) and Higgins (2015: 77) have categorised as a name for a god/goddess, similar to those examined in Subchapter 5.1.2. I would argue, however, that it is used as a reference to the realm of the dead. *Pūlu* is mentioned in *The Story of Kullervo* once, when the smith's wife is praying for her cattle's milk to not feed her enemies. Below are the passages from the English translation (a), Tolkien's adaptation (b) and the Finnish source text (c).

Example 6

- (a) And no evil fingers guide it; // That no milk may flow to Mana, // Nor upon the ground be wasted. (Lönnrot 1930: 82)
- (b) That no idle hands do milk them // And their milk on earth be wasted // That no drops flow down to Pūlu // And that Tanto drink not of it. (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 24).
- (c) Ylitse vihanki suovan, pahansuovan sormiloitse // maion saamatta manalle // katehesen karjanannin. (Lönnrot 1984: 289)

It does seem more plausible, based on these passages, that Tolkien has translated this part somewhat directly, replacing the source text *mana* with *Pūlu*. In the *Kalevala*, *Mana* is used as a synonym to *Manala*, the realm of the dead. It is also, however, used as a common noun to refer to troubles and nuisances in general (Turunen 1979: 202). As the word isn't capitalised in the source text, the latter interpretation is more likely here. In the English version it is used as a place name, however, which is probably why Tolkien created the substitute name *Pūlu*.

5.2 Invented names for previously unnamed elements

Kalevala	The Story of Kullervo
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Kullervo's sister	Wanōna, Wanone, Oanōra, Kivutar
Kullervo's mother	Kiputyttö
Kullervo's knife	Sikki
forest	the Blue Forest
woman in the forest	Blue-robed Lady of the Forest, Woman of the Forest, Blue Forest Woman, Dame, Pohie-Lady of the Forest

Table 4. Invented names of previously unnamed elements.

There are a few characters in the Kullervo cycle who are not referred to by name. As mentioned before, Tolkien seems to have borrowed elements from H. W.

Longfellow's epic *The Song of Hiawatha* when constructing some of the names in *The Story of Kullervo*. This is evident in the case of Kullervo's sister, called *Wanōna*, *Wanone*, *Oanōra* or *Kivutar*, in Tolkien's adaptation. The first three proper names resemble that of Hiawatha's mother, *Wenonah*, as Garth (2014: 28) points out. In earlier drafts, Tolkien also experimented on different versions of *Wanōna*: *Uanōna*, *Welinōre*, *Wanilie* and *Wanōra* (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 53). As briefly mentioned in the section concerning Kullervo's bynames, Tolkien gave *Wanōna*'s name the semantic meaning of 'weeping' (ibid., 7). Both in the *Kalevala* and in *The Story of Kullervo*, the life of Kullervo's sister is depicted as quite short and sorrowful. As for Hiawatha's mother, *Wenonah*, the course of her life was remarkably similar as she, too, died of heartbreak at a young age (Garth 2014: 30). The meaning Tolkien gives to *Wanōna*'s name does, therefore, suggest a strong connection to Longfellow's *Wenonah*. Additionally, Tolkien incorporated this proper name into *Qenya*, where *wen* means 'maid, girl' (Tolkien 1998: 103).

Tolkien also uses the names *Kivutar* and *Kiputyttö*, when referring to Kullervo's sister and their mother. These names are derived from Finnish, where *kipu* means 'pain' and *tyttö* means 'girl'. *Kivutar* is an agent noun of the word *kipu* with a feminine suffix *-tar* – a 'maiden of pain' as Tolkien describes her in his notes (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 62). Tolkien probably borrowed this definition from Kirby's notes, where he describes her with the exact same words (Lönnrot 1930: 282). These names are not of Tolkien's own devising, however, since both *Kivutar*

and Kiputyttö are mentioned in the *Kalevala* as goddesses of pain and suffering (Turunen 1979: 122), although not used in reference to Kullervo's sister or mother. Their lives were full of heartbreak and pain in the *Kalevala*, and these names correspond with their experiences, which might be the reason behind Tolkien's decision to use them.

Tolkien also constructed a name for Kullervo's knife, *Sikki*. This proper name seems to be of Tolkien's own invention, as it bears no meaning in the source or target languages. As with many of the names we have already looked at, *Sikki* can be found in Qenya as well; *sikil* is the name for 'dagger' and 'knife' (Garth 2014: 40).

Tolkien invented names for the woods in which Kullervo wandered as well as the woman he met there and from whom he received information on his family's whereabouts. Tolkien mainly called the woods the *Blue Forest*, although sometimes he referred to them simply as *blue woods*. He also occasionally talks of it as *Puhōsa* or *blue Puhōsa* – apparently because in his version, the woods surround Untamola and are considered a part of it.

The woman he met in the forest has many names in Tolkien's adaptation: *Blue-robed Lady of the Forest*, *Woman of the Forest*, *Blue Forest Woman*, *Dame* and *Pohie-Lady of the Forest*. Although in the source text it is not revealed who this woman is, she is described in a similar manner as the forest goddess *Mimerkki* (cf. Lönnrot 1984: 107 and 305). They are both called "siniviitta viian eukko" (ibid.), which Kirby has translated as "Blue-robed Lady of the Forest" (Lönnrot 1930: 103). Tolkien incorporated this name into his story unchanged. The god of the forest, Tapio, is also referred to with the same adjective, "siniviitta", although this time it is translated as a 'blue-coat' (cf. Lönnrot 1984: 291 and Lönnrot 1930: 85). In the original Kullervo cycle, some forests are described with the Finnish words *sini* or *sininen* (ibid., 285, 294, 295), meaning 'blue'. This is probably how Tolkien came up with both the name of the Blue Forest and the woman Kullervo met there.

Tolkien also uses the names *Dame* and *Pohie-Lady of the Forest* when talking of the woman. The latter is only used in Tolkien's draft of the plot synopsis – not in the short story itself. *Pohie-Lady* might be constructed from the name of Ilmarinen's mother-in-law, *Pohjolan emäntä*, also called *Pohjan akka*, since *Pohie* is

morphologically quite close to *Pohja*. These place names in the *Kalevala* have been derived from the Finnish word *pohjoinen*, meaning ‘north’. Kirby has translated the titles as ‘Pohjola’s old mistress’ and ‘dame of Pohja’ (see e.g. Lönnrot 1930: 212), the latter of which Tolkien probably took the name *Dame* from. In Qenya, the base root PO- is used to construct words that have to do with ‘north’, such as *pōmea/pōya* for ‘northern’ and *pōme/poar* for ‘north’ (Tolkien 1998: 74).

5.3 Invented names for elements not found in the original

Kalevala	The Story of Kullervo
place names	Lohiu, Loke, Same
armed goddess	Wenwe, Wanwe
deity/river	Tuoni, Tuoni Lord of Death, Tuoni the River of Death, Tuoni the marshland

Table 5. Invented names of elements not found in the original.

In his adaptation of the Kullervo cycle, Tolkien also constructed names for elements of his own invention that are not present in the source text at all. Many of these were place names that can’t be connected to any of the existing ones mentioned in the Kullervo cycle. These are *Lohiu*, *Loke* and *Same*. Of *Lohiu*, Tolkien writes: “- - the daughter of Koi even the fair one whom Āsemo the smith primeval wooed in the far Lohiu for seven years.” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 32). The smith’s wife is the daughter of Louhi, or Koi, as Tolkien refers to her here. This would indicate that *Lohiu* is a place name constructed from the proper name *Louhi*. Both *Lohiu* and *Loke* seem to be referring to the same geographical location. As discussed in Chapter 5.1.1, Tolkien uses the proper name *Queen of Lōke* when referring to Louhi. A connection to Loki, a deity in Norse mythology, is possible but cannot be demonstrated (ibid., 60). As Tolkien uses the proper name *Lohiu* only once in his adaptation, it is also possible that it was merely a typing error, meant to read *Louhi*.

The place name *Same* is also mentioned once in *The Story of Kullervo*: “And shall hither come from Same / In the southways of the summer --.” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 32). When discussing the meaning behind Kullervo’s byname *Sākehonto* in

Chapter 5.1.1, it was established that the proper name is presumably connected to the Kenya word *saha* or *sahya*, meaning ‘to be hot’. As Garth (2014: 40) points out, the same conclusion can be drawn between *Same* and *saha/sahya*, since *Same* is located in the “southways of the summer”.

Tolkien speaks of the river where Kullervo’s sister drowned herself in connection with an entity called *Tuoni*. Sometimes he uses the proper name to refer to the river itself, as in “Down to Tuoni to the river” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 38) and sometimes he implies that the river belongs to the referent, as in “by the bank of Tuoni’s river” (ibid., 40). He has transferred this name straight from the *Kalevala*, where it is used either with the meaning of ‘death’ – the concrete event itself, that is – or, when capitalised, as the personification of death, a God of Death of sorts (Turunen 1979: 347). In his adaptation, Tolkien uses the proper name *Tuoni* in a similar manner, both as a reference to an actual entity, the river, as well as a deity. In his essay concerning the *Kalevala*, Tolkien seems a little confused as to what *Tuoni* actually is, writing: “there is Jumala or Ukko in the heavens and *Tuoni* in the earth or rather in some vague dismal region beside a river of strange things” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 81–82).

This uncertainty might stem from the source text, namely from the passage where Kullervo’s sister throws herself into the river. Below are the passages as they are in the English translation (a) and the Finnish source text (b). This passage can’t be found in Tolkien’s adaptation as such.

Example 7

- (a) There she found the death she sought for, // There at length did death o’ertake her, // Found in Tuonela a refuge, // In the waves she found compassion. (Lönnrot 1930: 113).
- (b) Siihen surmansa sukesi, kuolemansa kohteli; // löyti turvan Tuonelassa, armon aaltojen seassa. (Lönnrot 1984: 312)

Tuonela is the dwelling place of *Tuoni* and the souls of deceased people – the realm of the dead. In the *Kalevala*, Tuonela is surrounded by a river, over which the deceased have to travel to get there. This river isn’t mentioned in the original Kullervo cycle, and it is difficult to know whether Tolkien was aware of it. His confusion concerning Tuonela’s meaning may have arisen from misinterpreting its referent in the above passage. Kullervo’s sister found refuge in Tuonela, meaning the

land of death or death itself, but Tolkien may have interpreted this as meaning she had found refuge in the river, possibly assuming it was as a metaphor for death. If this is the case, then he merely translated the parts concerning Tuoni in his adaptation as he thought it was being described in the source text – both as a river and a god of death, somehow intertwined.

The last proper name on our list is *Wenwe* or *Wanwe*. While still living with his uncle Untamo, Kullervo is sent to thresh rye. In a rage he ends up threshing it to chaff, after which “the winds of Wenwe took it and blew as a dust in Ülto’s eyes --.” (Tolkien and Flieger 2017: 15). In his notes, Tolkien has written *Wanwe* instead of *Wenwe* and given it a definition of ‘armed goddess’ (ibid., 42). As mentioned in the previous subchapter, *wen* means ‘girl’ or ‘maiden’ in Qenya (Tolkien 1998: 103). There is another character in Tolkien’s legendarium with a distinctly similar name, *Manwë*. Higgins (2015: 82) connects the first part of the proper name to the word root MANA-, from which words referring to ‘sky’ are formed. Tolkien refers to Manwë as a ‘sky god’, which would suggest the suffix *-wë* to bear the meaning ‘god’. It is possible, then, for the proper name *Wenwe* to simply mean ‘goddess’.

6 Conclusions

The main purpose of this thesis was to provide more insight into Tolkien's early language creation and to determine the *Kalevala*'s role in it. *The Story of Kullervo* is certainly an informative source on the subject, since it is Tolkien's first work of mythic prose and filled with invented proper names. The aim of this study was to provide answers for the following questions: How does Tolkien's version of the Kullervo cycle differ from the original regarding its proper names? Where did Tolkien draw inspiration for the new or alternative names he created? How are the proper names in *The Story of Kullervo* connected to Tolkien's Elvish language Qenya?

I started out by determining how the nomenclatures of the Kullervo cycle in the *Kalevala* and *The Story of Kullervo* differ from each other. All of the personal names in the first category, e.g. *Kullervo*, *Kalervo* and *Untamo*, Tolkien had transferred to the target text unchanged – transferred proper names formed around 15% of the nomenclature. He had constructed several bynames for all of the characters, however, especially for the main character Kullervo. Most of these bynames and names for other entities had been completely changed, but it is debatable whether they can be counted as translated proper names. A translated proper name should produce similar connotations for the target audience as the original proper name has for the source audience. Here, Tolkien's target culture would have been that of England, yet most of the semantic content within these constructed proper names can only be understood through Finnish or Qenya, or a combination of both. The English-speaking audience wouldn't, therefore, understand the semantic information contained in these names. On the other hand, neither would Finnish speakers, since the invented proper names had been influenced by both Tolkien's own language creation and possibly other literary works, such as writings of Norse mythology and Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*. It seems, then, that supplying his supposed readers with information through the proper names wasn't Tolkien's priority.

The sheer volume of invented names that differ from the original, around 85%, implies that *The Story of Kullervo* is no ordinary translation. As we have established before, Tolkien didn't consider his writing as purely an act of translation, which explains why we can't see many translation theories being put into practice in his

work. A bit over half of the proper names Tolkien invented, 52% to be exact, could be connected to Finnish common nouns or the source text proper names. Many of these, however, contained elements of Tolkien's own invention as well, e.g. suffixes or vowel shifts. W.F. Kirby's English translation did occasionally seem to affect some of the choices Tolkien made as well, and it certainly did shape his understanding of the Finnish epic. Since Kirby had mostly retained the source text nomenclature, the translation's impact on Tolkien's nomenclature wasn't particularly significant, however. The same can be said of C.N.E. Eliot's *A Finnish Grammar*, which Tolkien used in studying Finnish. It most likely gave him a lot of information on both Finnish and the dialect of the *Kalevala*, but I couldn't see any distinct correlation between what he wrote and what Tolkien later created.

A little less than half of the invented proper names, 44%, were connected to Tolkien's first Elvish language, Qenya. Many of the names contained elements from both Finnish and Qenya, however, thus overlapping to some extent with the above-mentioned names connected to Finnish. It is impossible to say which came first: the proper names in *The Story of Kullervo* or their Qenya counterparts, or if the construction was somewhat simultaneous. Of all the proper names Tolkien invented, less than 10% had been inspired by other epics or mythologies. On the other hand, 18% of the names could not be connected to any external sources – Finnish, Qenya or other literary works.

Going back to the categorisation model Higgins introduced, the first category of names was by far the largest, since it is only natural to create names to replace existing ones – it contained 78% of all the invented names. The second category, consisting of proper names created for unnamed entities of the *Kalevala*, was the second largest, although significantly smaller than the first one, with 13% of all invented names. The last and smallest category consisted of names Tolkien invented for entities that he created as well, and it contained 9% of all proper names Tolkien created. These numbers seem to be telling a story of a writer slowly beginning to transform from imitator to creator.

Semantic content and coherence seemed to be important aspects in Tolkien's construction of proper names. Many of the invented words and morphemes could be connected to Finnish or Qenya not only through their structure, but semantic content

as well. The linguistic roots of Tolkien's invented names dig deep, as we saw in many of the names. As mentioned above, Tolkien didn't seem to be using any specific translation strategies established in the translation field, and a distinctive pattern or naming system concerning the creation of his nomenclature can't be determined. The names often had descriptive or associative functions, as seen in *Taltewenlen* or *Āsemo*, but they were mostly comprehensible to those who know both Finnish and Qenya. Most of the proper names could be seen as having a fictionalising function, however, since their foreign morphology emphasizes the fictional qualities of the story.

Tolkien experimented on different bynames and their spelling, for example with *Wanōna* and *Sākehonto*. If Tolkien would have ever finished the story, he might have only used a few of them, especially of Kullervo's various bynames, to create a more consistent system. Through this process, however, we can see that the construction of his proper names was more an act of language creation than translation. In this early version, he was experimenting with different forms – he was an experimenter. On the other hand, in his notes on *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien 2007: 1,134–1,135), Tolkien talks about how he translated some of the proper names from their respective languages into English. The source language name for the Shire, for example, is *Sûza*. Perhaps he did the opposite with the *Kalevala*'s nomenclature, translating the names to be understood by fictional speakers of Finno-Qenya.

Tolkien wrote a letter on the topic, which can be seen as endorsing this view, discussing the origin and function of his nomenclature in *The Lord of the Rings*: “It must be emphasized that this process of invention was/is a private enterprise undertaken to give pleasure to myself by giving expression to my personal linguistic ‘aesthetic’ or taste and its fluctuations. It was largely antecedent to the composing of legends and ‘histories’ in which these languages could be ‘realized’; and the bulk of the nomenclature is constructed from these pre-existing languages, and where the resulting names have analysable meanings (as is usual) these are relevant solely to the fiction with which they are integrated.” (*Letters*, 380).

Tolkien was fascinated with the Finnish language, saying: “It was like discovering a complete wine-cellar filled with the bottles of an amazing wine of a kind and a flavour never tasted before, it quite intoxicated me.” (*Letters*, 214) Tolkien wanted

Qenya to sound pleasant and since he found pleasure in the phonaesthetics of Finnish, it became one of the main influences of the invented language (ibid., 176). Although the data examined here is far too small for any general conclusions on how much Finnish affected Qenya, the above passage and Tolkien's overall love of Finnish does tell us a lot of the motivation behind the construction of his adaptation. More extensive research on the impact of Finnish on Tolkien's languages is definitely required to paint a more accurate picture of their relation.

Tolkien's motivation for writing this piece was to bring this "amazing wine" to English readers – a task in which he thought Kirby had failed (*Letters*, 214). He probably wanted the supposed readers to see the beauty and magic of the *Kalevala*, to bring out the extraordinary properties of the original story. This might be one of the reasons why Tolkien wanted to add some of his own distinctive features to the story and why he didn't pay much attention to conventional translation practices. After all, "the invention of languages is the foundation. The 'stories' were made rather to provide a world for the languages than the reverse. To me a name comes first and the story follows." (ibid., 219).

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Toukokuu 2020

1. Johdanto

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastelen Tolkienin vuonna 2015 julkaistua teosta, *The Story of Kullervo*, *Kalevalasta* löytyvän Kullervon sikermän mukaelmana. Kääntäessään Kullervon tarinaa Tolkien teki huomattavan paljon muutoksia sen kerrontarakenteeseen, tyyliin ja sisältöön. Tässä tutkielmassa keskityn kuitenkin analysoimaan vain nimistöön liittyviä muutoksia, eli niitä uusia tai vaihtoehtoisia erisnimiä, jotka Tolkien loi tarinan henkilöille, eläimille, paikoille ja muille yksilöille. Tutkielman tavoitteena on lisätä tietoa Tolkienin varhaisesta kielen luomistyöstä ja selvittää, millainen rooli *Kalevalalla* siinä oli. Pyrin tutkielmassani vastaamaan seuraaviin kysymyksiin: Miten Tolkienin mukaelma eroaa alkuperäisestä nimistön osalta? Mistä Tolkienin voidaan katsoa lainanneen elementtejä rakentaessaan nimistöään? Miten *The Story of Kullervo* nimistö näkyy Tolkienin ensimmäisessä haltiakielissä, qenyassa?

Tolkienin fiktiivisen maailman kieliin vaikuttivat monet, pääosin eurooppalaiset kielet, jotka osaltaan muovasivat Tolkienin kielten fonologista järjestelmää ja rakennetta. Tolkienin tuotannossa lainattujen elementtien ja alkuperäisten keksintöjen välinen suhde on kuitenkin monesti veteen piirretty viiva, minkä vuoksi yksittäisten elementtien alkuperäisyyttä on hankala arvioida. Tässä tutkielmassa keskityn vain morfeemien ja sitä suurempien yksiköiden analysointiin, sillä esimerkiksi foneemeihin vaikuttaneita kieliä tai muita lähteitä olisi lähes mahdotonta selvittää luotettavasti.

Seuraavissa luvuissa esittelen ensin aiheesta aiemmin tehtyä tutkimusta sekä tutkielman teoriapohjaa, minkä jälkeen luon yleiskatsauksen aineistoon ja

metodeihin. Lyhennelmän viidennessä luvussa käyn läpi aineiston pohjalta tehtyä analyysiä, ja kuudennessa luvussa esittelen johtopäätökset.

2. Aiempi tutkimus

Tolkienin tuotannon ja *Kalevalan* välinen yhteys on ollut yleisesti tiedossa jo pitkään, vaikkakin tutkimusalana se on melko uusi. Samaa voi sanoa hänen varhaisesta kielenluonnistaan – vaikka useita tutkimuksia on tehty Tolkienin luomista kielistä yleisesti, ovat niiden alkuvaiheet olleet pitkään hämärän peitossa. Ensimmäiset kattavat tutkimukset *Kalevalan* vaikutuksista Tolkienin tuotantoon on julkaistu 2000-luvulla, ja ennen sitä aihetta on vain sivuttu alan julkaisuissa (Himes 2000: 71).

Aiemmat tutkimukset voidaan karkeasti jakaa kahteen aihepiiriin: kieli ja sisältö. Ensimmäinen näistä keskittyy tutkimaan suomen kielen vaikutusta Tolkienin luomiin kieliin, etenkin hänen ensimmäiseen haltijakieleensä qenyaan (Higgins 2015; DuBois ja Mellor 2002). Jälkimmäiseen kategoriaan kuuluvissa tutkimuksissa keskitytään puolestaan analysoimaan *Kalevalan* roolia Tolkienin myöhemmän tuotannon muovaajana (Ranki 2008; Himes 2000; Garth 2014; Bardowell 2009; West 2004). Nämä aiheet eivät kuitenkaan ole toisiaan poissulkevia, ja useat yllä luetellut tutkimukset kuuluvat molempiin aihepiireihin.

Etenkin *The Story of Kullervo*on liittyvä tutkimustyö on harvassa, osittain sen myöhäisen julkaisuajankohdan vuoksi. Teoksen editoijan, Verlyn Fliegerin, lisäksi Andrew Higgins on yksi ainoista *The Story of Kullervo*on nimistöön paneutuneista tutkijoista. Higgins painottaa vuonna 2015 julkaistussa väitöskirjassaan, *The Genesis of J.R.R. Tolkien's Mythology*, *Kalevalan* merkittävää vaikutusta Tolkienin haltiakieli qenyaan ja esittää, että suurin osa Tolkienin mukaelman nimistöstä on löydettävissä myös siitä (Higgins 2015: 76).

3. Teoriatausta

Tutkielman teoriatausta jakautuu kahteen osaan, joista ensimmäinen käsittelee erisnimien kääntämistä ja niiden roolia kaunokirjallisuudessa. Täysin kiistatonta

määritelmää erisnimestä ei ole olemassa, mutta yleisesti ottaen se tarkoittaa tiettyä substantiivia tai substantiivilauseketta, joka yksilöi kielenulkoisen tarkoitteen ja erottelee sen muista samaan luokkaan kuuluvista yksilöistä, esimerkiksi ihmisistä, paikoista tai tuotteista (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2003: 125).

Kirjallisuudessa erisnimiä voidaan käyttää tiedon välittämiseen. Tietyn yksilön tunnistamisen lisäksi nimet voivat sisältää sanastollista merkitystä sekä miellejhtymiin perustuvaa tietoa (Bertills 2003: 28). Kirjallisuudessa erisnimet laaditaan tai valitaan yleensä huolella, ja niitä voidaan käyttää kerronnan tukena lisätiedon ja kontekstin tarjoajina. Tällöin niiden katsotaan sisältävän eri funktioita – ne voivat esimerkiksi kertoa lukijalle tietyn henkilöhahmon sosioekonomisesta asemasta, antaa vihjeitä tämän lopullisesta kohtalosta tai ilmentää hahmojen välistä sukulaisuussuhdetta. (Ainiala, Saarelma ja Sjöblom 2012: 258–259.)

Erisnimille on nykyään tunnistettu useita käännösstrategioita, joilla niiden sisältämä merkitys pyritään siirtämään mahdollisimman ymmärrettävässä muodossa lukijalle. Aiemmin nimet siirrettiin usein muuttumattomina käännöksiin, sillä niiden pääasiallisena tarkoituksena nähtiin vain niiden yksilöivä funktio (Vermes 2003: 89). Vermesin mukaan (ibid., 94) käännöksissä tulisi pyrkiä käyttämään sellaisia erisnimiä, jotka lukija voi mahdollisimman helposti ymmärtää. Nimien tulisi kuitenkin välittää lukijalle myös tarpeeksi kontekstuaalista tietoa, jota alkutekstin kirjoittaja on niihin sisällyttänyt. Kirjailijan, kääntäjän ja kohdeyleisön suhteen tulisikin olla mahdollisimman lähellä kirjailijan ja alkuperäisen lukijakunnan välistä suhdetta, ottaen huomioon kohdeyleisön oletetun kulttuurisen tietämyksen ja kielelliset realiteetit. (Lungu-Badea 2013: 453.)

Toinen tärkeä osa tutkielman teoriapohjaa on mukaelman tarkasteleminen käsitteenä ja osana käännöskirjallisuutta. Mukaelman ja käännöksen erottaminen toisistaan ei ole yksioikoinen tehtävä. Niitä onkin parempi tarkastella jatkumona, jonka toisessa päässä on alkutekstilleen mahdollisimman uskollinen käännös ja toisessa puolestaan tuskin tunnistettavissa oleva versio. Merkittävä ero on siinä, että käännöksen oletetaan jäljittelevän alkutekstin tyyliä ja sisältöä mahdollisimman tarkasti, kun taas mukaelmassa lukijalle tarjotaan aina jokin uusi näkökulma (Amorim 2003: 198).

Tämä voi tarkoittaa tekstin tyylilajin muuttamista, sen muokkaamista eri kohdeyleisölle, esimerkiksi lapsille, sopivaksi tai uudelleenkirjoittamista mukaelman kirjoittajan omien näkemysten pohjalta. Mukaelma on aina kuitenkin tunnistettavissa

alkuperäisen kirjailijan tuotokseksi. Tolkienin *The Story of Kullervo* ei sen rakenteellisten ja sisällöllisten muutosten myötä ole tavanomainen käännös, eikä sitä tällöin voi sellaisenaan tarkastellakaan.

4. Aineisto ja metodi

Tutkielmani aineistona on Suomen ja Karjalan kansalliseepoksen, *Kalevalan*, uusi versio vuodelta 1984 ja *The Story of Kullervon* toinen painos vuodelta 2017.

Kalevala koostuu 50 runosta, jotka Lönnrot kokosi alun perin suullisena perimätietona kulkeneista tarinoista. Kullervon tarina, jonka pohjalta Tolkien kirjoitti mukaelmansa, käsittää runoista kuusi.

Tolkien tutustui W. F. Kirbyn englanninkieliseen käännökseen, *Kalevala: The Land of Heroes*, vuonna 1911. Teoksen uutuus ja tarinan omintakeisuus tekivät häneen suuren vaikutuksen, vaikka Kirbyn käännös olikin hänen mielestään kömpelö. Tolkien kirjoitti *The Story of Kullervon* arviolta vuosina 1912–1914, mutta se julkaistiin vasta yli sata vuotta myöhemmin vuonna 2015.

Päälähteisiin kuuluvat *The Story of Kullervon* yhteydessä julkaistut muistiinpanot ja esseet sekä Verlyn Fliegeriltä että Tolkienilta itseltään. Merkittävien lähteiden joukkoon sisältyy myös Tolkienin kirjekokoelma, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (suom. *Kirjeet*), josta löytyy Tolkienin kirjoittamia kirjeitä aiheesta ennen kirjoitusprosessia, sen ajalta sekä sen jälkeen. Vastatakseni etenkin kolmanteen tutkimuskysymykseen suomen ja *Kalevalan* vaikutuksesta Tolkienin haltiakieleen vertaan Tolkienin luomaa nimistöä myös hänen kirjoittamaansa qenyan kielioppi- ja sanastokirjaan *Qenyaqesta: The Qenya Phonology and Lexicon*.

Tolkien opiskeli *Kalevalaa* lukiessaan suomea, joskaan hänen kielitaitonsa ei ollut riittävä, jotta hän olisi voinut lukea vain suomenkielistä alkuteosta. Sen vuoksi vertaan Tolkienin tekemiä muutoksia W. F. Kirbyn englanninkieliseen käännökseen, joka julkaistiin ensimmäisen kerran vuonna 1907. Otan tutkimuksessani huomioon myös C. N. E. Eliotin oppikirjan *A Finnish Grammar* vuodelta 1890, jota Tolkien käytti apuna opiskellessaan suomea. Alkutekstissä esiintyvien yleis- ja erisnimien tulkinnassa Aimo Aikion perusteellinen tutkimustyö teoksessa *Kalevalan sanat ja niiden taustat* vuodelta 1979 on niin ikään tärkeä tietolähde.

Tutkimusmenetelmänä käytän dokumenttianalyysiä hyödyntäen sekä ensisijaisia lähteitä että tutkimuskirjallisuutta. Aineistoni kattaa kaikki erisnimet *The Story of Kullervosta* sekä *Kalevalan* Kullervon sikermästä, jotka jaottelen kolmeen kategoriaan Andrew Higginsin väitöskirjassaan esittelemän mallin mukaan. Jaotteluperusteet esittelen tarkemmin luvussa 5. Tämän jälkeen analysoin taulukoimani erisnimet muun muassa yllä mainittuja lähteitä apuna käyttäen.

Vertaan saamiani tuloksia W. F. Kirbyn tekemiin käännösratkaisuihin sekä Eliotin kielioppikirjassa esiintyviin, erityisesti *Kalevalaa* koskeviin analyyseihin. Kuten luvussa 3 mainittiin, erisnimien kääntämiseen liittyy monia käännösstrategioita. Tarkastelen Tolkienin tekemiä ratkaisuja myös teoreettisesta näkökulmasta nähdäkseni, voidaanko hänen työssään katsoa olevan merkkejä teoreettisesta lähestymistavasta tai muusta järjestelmällisestä kielen luonnista.

5. Analyysi

Keräämäni aineiston luokittelussa käytän Andrew Higginsin (2015: 76) esittelemää mallia, jossa hän jakaa termit kolmeen eri kategoriaan. Ensimmäiseen lukeutuvat ne erisnimet, jotka on luotu korvaamaan *Kalevalassa* esiintyviä nimiä. Toiseen kategoriaan kuuluvat erisnimet Tolkien on luonut Kullervon sikermän nimettömille yksilöille, ja viimeinen ryhmä koostuu erisnimistä, jotka on luotu hahmoille ja asioille, joita alkutekstissä ei ole olemassa lainkaan – tällöin Tolkien on siis luonut sekä nimen että sen viitoittaman yksilön.

Tämän jaottelun ja sen perusteella tehdyn taulukoinnin avulla voi nähdä selkeästi, miten *Kalevalan* ja *The Story of Kullervon* nimistöt eroavat toisistaan. Ensimmäinen kategoria on yllä esitellyistä kaikkein laajin, sillä on luonnollista korvata jo olemassa olevia erisnimiä uusilla nimillä. Ensimmäinen kategoria sisältää 78 % kaikista Tolkienin luomista nimistä. Toinen kategoria, nimettömille yksilöille luodut nimet, on huomattavasti ensimmäistä suppeampi, ja se kattaa 13 % erisnimistä. Viimeinen kategoria on hieman tätäkin pienempi, ja se pitää sisällään 9 % nimistä. Nämä prosenttiluvut näyttävät kertovan tarinaa kirjoittajasta, joka on hiljalleen siirtymässä jäljittelystä uuden luomiseen.

Lähes kaikkia ensimmäiseen kategoriaan kuuluvien alkuperäisten hahmojen nimiä Tolkien käytti sellaisenaan myös omassa mukaelmassaan. Nämä muuttumattomina

siirretyt nimet muodostavat noin 15 % Tolkienin koko nimistöstä. Kaikille näille hän kuitenkin loi useita lisänimiä, kuten hän teki muillekin nimeämilleen yksilöille. Suurinta osaa näistä lisänimistä ja muille yksilöille luoduista erisnimistä ei ole johdettu *Kalevalassa* esiintyvistä alkuperäisistä nimistä. Esimerkiksi seppä Ilmariselle Tolkien loi lisänimen *Āsemo*, joka on rakennettu suomen kielen sanasta 'ase' ja qenyassakin esiintyvistä tekijää ilmaisevasta suffiksista '-mo'. Sepän nimen merkitys olisi siis 'aseen käyttäjä'.

Ei kuitenkaan ole täysin selvää, voidaanko näiden nimien katsoa käännöstieteessä vakiintuneiden käännösstrategioiden mukaisesti olevan käännettyjä erisnimiä. Käännetyn erisnimen tulisi synnyttää kohdeyleisössään samanlaisia mielikuvia ja konnotaatioita kuin mitä alkuteksti on herättänyt sen lukijakunnassa. *The Story of Kullervon* kohdeyleisö olisi oletetusti koostunut englanninkielisistä lukijoista, mutta Tolkienin rakentamien erisnimien merkitys avautuu kuitenkin pääosin vain suomea ja qenyaa osaavalle kohdeyleisölle. Englanninkielisille lukijoille nimien sisältämä merkitys ei näin ollen kävisi ilmi. Toisaalta nämä merkityssisällöt eivät luultavasti avautuisi suomenkielisellekään yleisölle, sillä erisnimiin on usein yhdistetty Tolkienin oman kielen luomistyön elementtejä, kuten yllä esittelyn *Āsemo*-nimen kohdalla kävi ilmi.

Muutamien erisnimien kohdalla on ilmeistä, että Tolkien on niitä luodessaan ottanut mallia joko Longfellow'n teoksesta *The Song of Hiawatha* (suom. Laulu Hiawathasta) tai skandinaavisesta mytologiasta. Näitä tapauksia ei kuitenkaan nimistössä ole montaa, ja ne muodostavatkin alle 10 % kaikista tapauksista. Tolkienin mukaelmassa oli myös joitain erisnimiä, joita analyysissä ei ole voitu yhdistää mihinkään aiemmin mainituista lähteistä: suomeen, qenyaan tai muihin kirjallisiin tuotoksiin. Yhteensä tällaisia tapauksia on noin 18 %.

Kaiken kaikkiaan suurin osa Tolkienin nimistöstä, noin 85 %, on hänen oman luomistyönsä tulosta. Näistä hieman yli puolet, 52 % tarkalleen, on yhdistettävissä joko suomen kieleen tai alkutekstin erisnimiin. Lähes kaikissa näistä nimistä on kuitenkin nähtävissä viitteitä myös Tolkienin omasta luomistyöstä, esimerkiksi suffiksien tai vokaalimuutosten muodossa. Myös W. F. Kirbyn englanninkielinen käännös näyttää vaikuttavan joihinkin Tolkienin tekemiin ratkaisuihin ja hänen tulkintaansa alkutekstistä. Englanninkielisessä käännöksessä alkutekstin erisnimet oli kuitenkin pitkälti säilytetty muuttumattomina, joten sen vaikutus *The Story of*

Kullervon nimistöön ei ollut huomattava. Samaa voidaan sanoa C. N. E. Eliotin oppikirjasta *A Finnish Grammar*, jota Tolkien hyödynsi opiskellessaan suomea. Se luultavasti antoi Tolkienille suuren määrän tietoa suomen kielestä ja *Kalevalassa* puhutusta murteesta ja näin vaikutti mahdollisesti epäsuorasti Tolkienin nimistön luomiseen, mutta ainakaan suoraa yhteyttä erisnimiin ei ole havaittavissa.

Tolkienin luomista nimistä hieman alle puolet, 44 %, on löydettävissä jossain muodossa myös qenyasta, hänen varhaisesta haltiakielistään. Kuten aiemmin mainittiin, monet näistä erisnimistä sisältävät myös suomeen yhdistettävissä olevia kielellisiä elementtejä, minkä vuoksi tämä listaus on osittain päällekkäinen aiemmassa kappaleessa esiteltyjen suomensukuisten erisnimien kanssa. On kuitenkin mahdotonta määrittää, syntyivätkö *The Story of Kullervon* erisnimet ennen niiden qenyankielisiä vastineita, vai tapahtuiko sanojen luominen jokseenkin samanaikaisesti.

Erisnimien semanttinen sisältö ja niiden johdonmukaisuus näyttää olleen Tolkienille erityisen tärkeää nimistön rakentamisessa. Monet erisnimet ovat yhdistettävissä suomeen tai qenyaan rakenteen lisäksi myös niiden merkityssisällön kautta, ja usein ne sisältävätkin tietoa yksilön luonteesta, ammatista tai sukulaisuussuhteesta tarinan toiseen yksilöön. Kuten aiemmin mainitsin, nämä merkityssisällöt eivät kuitenkaan ole ymmärrettävissä suomen- tai englanninkieliselle lukijakunnalle. Kohdeyleisön olisi osattava sekä suomea että qenyaa ymmärtääkseen suurimman osan erisnimien sisältämästä informaatiosta. Lähes kaikilla erisnimillä voidaan kuitenkin katsoa olevan fiktionaalistava funktio, eli ne korostavat tarinan ja sitä ympäröivän maailman kuvitteellisuutta. Tolkien ei pitänyt omaa kirjoitusprosessiaan puhtaasti kääntämisenä (Tolkien ja Carpenter 2000: 214, jäljempänä *Kirjeet*), minkä vuoksi *The Story of Kullervon* nimistön pohjalta ei ole nähtävissä todisteita systemaattisesta käännösstrategioiden hyödyntämisestä.

6. Johtopäätökset

Tämän tutkielman tavoitteena oli lisätä tietoa Tolkienin varhaisesta kielen luomistyöstä ja *Kalevalan* roolista siinä. Halusin selvittää, mitkä asiat vaikuttivat *The Story of Kullervon* nimistön rakentamiseen, ja miten kyseinen nimistö näkyi Tolkienin haltiakieli qenyassa. Tutkielman aineisto on melko pieni, ja sen perusteella

ei voi tehdä päätelmiä suomen kielen tai *Kalevalan* yleisestä vaikutuksesta Tolkienin varhaisiin kieliin. Voimme kuitenkin aineiston pohjalta nähdä viitteitä Tolkienin muutoksesta jäljittelijästä uuden luojaksi. Läpi tekstin Tolkien käyttää sen henkilöistä ja paikoista useita vaihtoehtoisia nimiä. Jos hän olisi kirjoittanut tarinan valmiiksi ja julkaissut sen itse, olisi hän ehkä yhtenäistänyt nimien käyttöä luettavuuden parantamiseksi – esimerkiksi Kullervosta hän käytti 16 eri nimeä tai niiden variaatiota. Tolkien leikkitteli nimien kirjoitusasuilla, minkä vuoksi *The Story of Kullervo* vaikuttaakin olevan hänen kokeilukappaleensa, jonka keskiössä ainakin nimistön osalta on enemmän kielen luominen kuin alkutekstin kääntäminen.

Tolkien oli haltioissaan löydettyään suomen kielen ja *Kalevalan*, sanoen “Tuntui kuin olisin löytänyt kokonaisen kellarin täynnä huikeaa viiniä, jollaista en ollut koskaan ennen maistanut. Juovuin siitä täysin --.” (*Kirjeet*, 214.) Tolkienille suomi kuulosti miellyttävältä, ja siitä tulikin yksi merkittävimmistä vaikutteista hänen luodessaan qenyan sanastoa ja kielioppia (ibid., 176). Tolkienin kiintymys suomen kieleen ja *Kalevalaan* paljastaa jotain hänen motiiveistaan mukaelman kirjoittamiseen. Hän halusi tuoda tämän “huikean viinin” englanninkielisen kohdeyleisön nähtäville – etenkin, kun Kirbyn englanninkielinen käännös oli Tolkienin mielestä kömpelyydellään siinä epäonnistunut (ibid., 214).

Tolkien halusi lukijoiden näkevän *Kalevalan* kauneuden ja taianomaisuuden. Tämän vuoksi hän ei erisnimiä rakentaessaan keskittynyt niiden merkityksisällön välittämiseen lukijalle eikä välittänyt juurikaan käännösalan konventioista. Hän lisäsi Kullervon tarinaan omintakeisuutta, sillä viime kädessä ”perustana on kielten keksiminen. 'Tarinoiden' tarkoituksena oli tarjota kielille maailma, ei toisinpäin. Minulle nimi tulee ensin, tarina seuraa perässä.” (*Kirjeet*, 219).